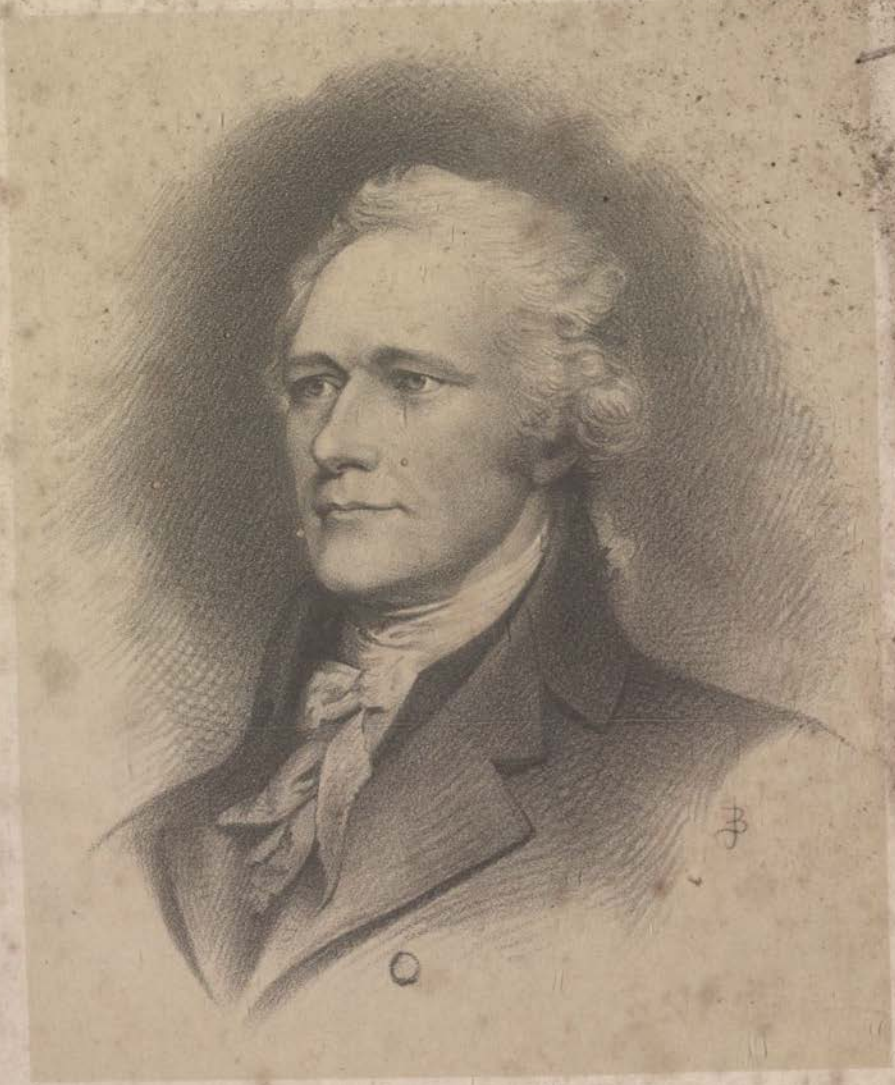
00023221

NOT TO BE ISSUED OUT
WITHOUT PERMISSION.

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018



A Hamilton

After the Wiemar Painting.

THE

LIFE AND EPOCH

OF

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

A Historical Study

23221

BY THE

HONORABLE GEORGE SHEA

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE MARINE COURT

"The idea of introducing a monarchy or aristocracy into this country, by employing the influence and force of a government, continually changing hands, towards it, is one of those visionary things that none but madmen could meditate. . . . . But if we incline too much to democracy, we shall soon shoot into a monarchy. . . . . The fabric of THE AMERICAN EMPIRE ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the People: and the streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure original fountain of all legitimate authority." — HAMILTON.

SECOND EDITION

REVISED AND CORRECTED

BOSTON

HOUGHTON, OSGOOD AND COMPANY

The Riverside Press, Cambridge

1880

Copyright, 1879,
By GEORGE SHEA

All rights reserved.

RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

THIS

ESSAY TO DELINEATE THE LIFE AND EPOCH

OF

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

IS INSCRIBED TO THE

LORD HOUGHTON,

SCHOLAR, POET, STATESMAN, MASTER OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE,

IN REMEMBRANCE OF PLEASANT SOCIAL HOURS,

AND

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS WARM KINDRED FEELINGS TOWARD

MY COUNTRY.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE demand for a second edition of this volume follows so soon the publication of the first edition, that little time has been allowed for the careful revision which I should have wished to perform. It will be noticed, perhaps, that I have corrected the text in many instances; and changed some phrases which attracted attention rather by their novelty than, I trust, by any inaccuracy of speech. A few notes have been added, and the Index increased.

When one writes upon a subject concerning which intelligent persons are free to form different, if not opposite, opinions, it is well that he should endeavor not only to be clearly understood, but to be equally careful that he be not misunderstood. It has been inferred, and by those who have the most graciously honored this essay with

a communication as unexpected as it is encouraging to me, that in speaking of Hamilton as "the founder of the States in Empire," I would exclude others, whose patriotic labors were not less than his in forming the Constitution and in establishing the Union. The possibility of such an inference was foreseen by me, and the remarks on page 74 were made to prevent it. If there was one *Power* greater than any other in bringing the idea and national necessity of a union of the States to the understanding and acceptance of America, in spite of antagonistic traditions and prejudices, it was undoubtedly THE NAME AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. Therefore, in applying the epithet founder to Hamilton, I do not allude to him in his relations to the mere formation of the Constitution, but I refer to that quality whence comes its potential accretive development: the pervading genius of "implied powers;" those "discretionary powers" which have constituted, as it were, the atmosphere in which our written Constitution has lived, moved, and had its being, for near a century. That Hamilton is the responsible author of the doctrine of "implied," "discretionary powers," "lim-

ited only by the object for which they were given," and that he wrote the preamble[1] to the Constitution in aid of that policy, have always appeared to me as indisputable. The doctrine is announced by him distinctly as early as his letter to James Duane, in 1780. Gouverneur Morris, on his return from the Convention of 1787, spoke unreservedly of "the implied powers" of the proposed National Constitution as its efficacious and energizing element; and said that its success as a form of government would depend upon "how it was construed." Henry Clay eulogized it as a source of legitimate power, and, describing its omnipresence, within and throughout the Constitution, called it "a vagrant clause." I neither condemn nor praise — I simply relate. But "I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offense:"[2] for whether we comment on the administration of Washington or of Jefferson or of Lincoln — or on the Federal or Republican or Democratic party — it would be difficult to decide which of the three exceeded either of the others in the degree to which powers by implication were employed.

[1] See *post*, page 73.

[2] Edmund Burke, *Speech on American Taxation.*

In this view of the *actual administration* of our government it cannot be error to characterize Hamilton as the Founder of the States *in Empire.* The word as well as the idea of Empire, used in relation to the union of the States, was a favorite word of Hamilton; and its frequent occurrence in the following pages has this propriety. The discussion, however, belongs to that part of Hamilton's career during which he was organizing the administration of government; and may constitute the chief theme of a subsequent volume.

GEO. SHEA.

NEW YORK, 205 West Forty-sixth Street,
September 22, 1879.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS book had its first step in a monograph on Hamilton as a historical study. The prosperity of that first step induces me to undertake an elaborate exposition of his early and least known years, and of the great epoch to which he belongs. I limit the narrative to this volume; and, for the present, to those years. From the time that Hamilton entered the personal military service of Washington to the end of his life, his career is readily found in the history of our country. It is not necessary to the special utility of this volume that it should spread into ground well occupied by the labors of other writers. However, I purpose, but do not promise, to continue my work; so that it shall ultimately include every incident and phase of his memoirs in their private, professional, and public aspects. I hope that time and opportunity will aid my purpose.

The term epoch is used rather than that of age, era, or times: because I shall speak concerning an indefinite space of time constituted by the potential and still accretive importance of a great event — the establishing of the Constitution of the United States: and likewise, for the reason that the establishment of that Constitution laid down laws for national government and national development which have not ceased to act upon its own course and to influence foreign nations. That epoch comprehends, in its full treatment, the history of implied powers, derivable from a written form of constitutional government; and applied, by necessary inference not mere incident, to the current exigencies of its administration. The institution of the Bank of the United States, the acquisition of the territories of Louisiana and of Florida, and the emission of bills of credit as a war-measure under the administration by President Lincoln, are memorable and radical instances of power assumed as if authorized by implication.

The introductory three chapters are designed to excite an interest in those readers who are not acquainted with the epoch and the man, and to

delineate the general scope of the whole subject,—to bring afresh to the memory of other readers the historical circumstances which formed a stage for the talents of Hamilton. I have gathered together, in those chapters, some of the testimonies of the most celebrated of his contemporaries, in America and in Europe, to the creative faculties of his mind, and to the grandeur and permanence of his labors. They attempt to describe the transformation of a political society, which, in the midst of revolution, continued and preserved law and order, and retained the substance of its ancient system in increased vigor and efficacy.

The Republic of States in Empire and the individuality of him to whom is ascribed its chief and vitalizing merit,[1] present a theme noble and exemplary. We must recognize in the long duration of an institution the proof of its goodness; in the incontestable influence of a man upon his age the proof of his genius; and acknowledge the empire of his ideas when his principles and his system triumph in spite of his death or defeat.[2] For Hamilton is really the truest representative

[1] Guizot and Laboulaye; Marshall and Story.

[2] See preface to the *Life of Cæsar* by Napoleon III.

of that which has endured and lives in our political fabric: just as a legal standard of value represents a correcting authority for that which is in its nature amenable to chance and change.

The writing of this book is the occupation of those days when I am freed from the performance of public duties. The labor is one in which I take delight, and is a source, during vacations, of happiness to me: may the book be one of pleasure, if not enlightment, to others. Begun on the banks of the Hudson, I continue it here amid the beautiful and superb scenery near the upper Rhone: in that Switzerland to which Hamilton was prepared to emigrate if the revolutionary contest in America had resulted disastrously to the colonists.

If this essay to relate the story of Hamilton's life, and to treat of the historical inducements to our national unity, should succeed in gaining the attention of American youth to the studious contemplation of one of the most eminent characters of their own country, I shall feel that I do not fail in another object which I have in view. "And if I have done well, as is fitting the story, it is that which I desire: but if slenderly

and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto."[1]

The numerous notes which will be found throughout the following pages are intended to furnish carefully selected authority for each fact. Annotation, also, assists us to the sense of the text: as intelligible gesticulation explains the meaning and spirit of the orator.

GEO. SHEA.

MONTREUX, *Switzerland, July*, 1877.

[1] II *Maccabees*, xv. 38.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY.—OF THE INDIVIDUAL 7

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY.—OF THE INDIVIDUAL (*continued*) . . 47

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDER OF EMPIRE 75

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH [1757–1774] 143

CHAPTER V.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH [1774] 183

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH [1774–1775] 245

CHAPTER VII.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH [1775] 287

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE
THE LIFE AND EPOCH [1775-1776] 343

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION 379

APPENDIX 433

INDEX 443

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

HAMILTON; after the portrait by Wiemar. *Frontispiece.*

FAC-SIMILE of Hamilton's letter to his son Philip . . . 7

TALLEYRAND; fac-simile of the engraving by Boucher Desnoyers, from the portrait by F. Gerard 20

MRS. HAMILTON, in the 28th year of her age; after the portrait by J. Earle, painted in 1787 145

MAP, showing the proposed restricted boundaries accorded to the United States by the secret project of the Court of France, submitted to the English Ministry in 1782 . . 134

SEABURY, BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT; fac-simile of the engraving by William Sharp; from the portrait by Duché, reputed to have been finished by Benjamin West 292

BURR, after the portrait by Vanderlyn 400

CHAPTERS I. AND II.

THE INDIVIDUAL.

For Shea's "Hamilton."
(From original in possession of J. Blair Scribner, Esq.)

Philadelphia Decemb 5
1791

I received with great pleasure My Dear Philip the letter which you wrote me last week. Your Mama and myself were very happy to learn that you are pleased with your situation and content to stay as long as shall be thought for your good. We hope and believe that nothing will happen to alter this disposition.

Your Master also informs me that you recited a lesson the first day you began, very much to his satisfaction. I expect every letter from him will give me a fresh proof of your progress. For I know that you can do a great deal, if you please, and I am sure you have too much spirit not to exert yourself, that you may make us every day more and more proud of you.

Your Mama has got and Owes for you and is looking up your Mans introduction. If it cannot be found tomorrow

will be procured – and the books with the other
shall be prompted to send you will be forwarded
in three days

You remember that I engaged
for
to you next Saturday and I will do it,
if you request me to put it off. For a
debt must never be broken; and I never will
to you one, which I will not fulfil as far
as I am able But it has occurred to me
that the Christmas holidays are near at hand,
and I suppose your school will then break up
for some days and give you an opportunity
of coming to stay with us for a longer time than
if you should come on Saturday. Will it
not be best for you, therefore, to put off
your journey till the holidays? But
in this as you like best and let me
know what will be most pleasing to you.

A good night to my dearest

Adieu

A Hamilton

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

More than three-score years and ten have passed since Alexander Hamilton died. Men then thought and spoke of his death as untimely for himself and his country. History will give no such judgment. For himself, for his peace of mind and the simple grandeur of his fame, the time of his death must be esteemed fortunate; for the Republic, now as we look back upon the course of events, the sacrifice appears to have been desirable. He was not doomed to outlive his usefulness; nor to live into those days when doctrines which he feared and opposed, and when personal solicitation for office, were to gain ascendency in the administration of the government. Nor was his heart to be embittered, as many others have been, by ephemeral contentions, in which the honors of his pitched and decisive battles might be dimmed and degraded.[1] He had laid the foundation, broad

[1] "Jefferson and Madison were brought forward by caucus nominations. . . . . The first year [1821] of Mr. Monroe's second term had scarcely passed away before the political atmosphere be-

and deep, of a republic for the people. He had secured, by potential constitutional bulwarks, the frame of its government from the changes and chances of ordinary mutability, decay, and violent revolution. It was, by its written word, self-adjusting and self-remedial. It contained, within itself, the means of improvement, derived from the Confederation, but now made practicable and vital; and, like the adaptive nature of the common law, capable of falling in with each phase in the progress of true civilization and national expansion. Revolution by force was to be without excuse henceforth. The winds and the waves may now come and beat upon the house. It was not built in the sands of an ever shifting popular feeling, but on the fixed and durable rock of a constitutional Republic. A "fierce democratie" meant, in his understanding, as enlightened by the philosophy taught by historical examples, license, not law, and ultimate anarchy: a republic meant that "democratie" under the regulation of a supreme law.

This discriminating idea concerning a form of pure republican government was one entertained, at that early day, by a few forward men, who seem to have been unwilling to openly proclaim it.

came inflamed to an unprecedented extent. The republican party, so long in the ascendant, and apparently so omnipotent, was literally shattered into fragments, and we had no fewer than five republican presidential candidates in the field."—*President Van Buren's Political Parties*, p. 3.

Mirabeau ventured once, and only once, to utter the thought; and then at that private meeting of friends, so fatal in its immediate consequences to himself and to France. Lafayette, "too republican for the genius of his country," was denounced in the National Assembly, his arrest decreed, and emissaries sent to carry the decree into effect. The annihilation of the constitutional party and the commencement of the Reign of Terror, were concurrent events. Hamilton was unreserved in all places where discussion was appropriate. Never untimely intrusive, yet, when he spoke, it was fully and without reserve. He acted under the influence of opinions which had been honestly formed, and in the correctness of which he confided to the end; opinions which, he hoped, would in the sequel prove acceptable to the majority, but to which he felt it his duty to adhere, whatever might be the consequence to himself of his perseverance. That he favored a monarchy is an absurd prejudice. If he had favored it he knew quite well that a commonwealth was the old beaten highroad that leads to royalty.[1] Many too sincerely believed that he

[1] Napoleon III. observed and spoke of the familiar "tendency of the democracy to personify itself in one man." Franklin declared, in the Constitutional Convention, that there is "a natural inclination" in the masses of mankind to kingly government, "as it gives more the appearance of equality among citizens; and that they like." —*Madison's Debates*, vol. 2, p. 773.

The emperor, in a conversation with Colonel Vaudrey, related in

did; and suspicion detected as proof that which reason should place to a different account. He knew human nature better than to attempt to superinduce upon American civilization, peculiar and sensitive as it was, a system already rejected, and alien to the genius of its origin and development.[1] To be sure, the war for independence was an assertion and vindication of the rights claimed by the colonists as British subjects. The denial of those rights by a British ministry was officially avowed as the adequate cause for resistance, and, when persisted in, of final complete separation from the crown.[2] The object of the Revolution

the preface to the English edition of his *Idées Napoleoniennes*, said: "France is democratic, not republican. By democracy, I mean the government of an individual by the will of all; by a republic, I mean the government of a number, in obedience to a certain system."

[1] "The idea," writes Hamilton, "of introducing a monarchy or aristocracy into this country, by employing the influence and force of a government, continually changing hands, towards it, is one of those visionary things that none but madmen could meditate, and that no wise man will believe." — *Hamilton's Works*, vol. 4, p. 271.

[2] In the closing pages of his autobiography, Mr. Jefferson tells us that he called upon Franklin in Philadelphia in 1790, and only a few weeks before his death (which occurred April 17, 1790), when Franklin placed in Jefferson's hands a full account of his negotiations with the British ministry in London, through Lord Howe. "I remember," continues Jefferson, "that Lord North's answers were dry, unyielding in the spirit of unconditional submission, and betrayed an absolute indifference to the occurrence of a rupture; and he said to the mediators, at last, that 'a rebellion was not to be deprecated on the part of Great Britain; that the confiscations it would produce would provide for many of their friends.' This

was to uphold and continue, not to prostrate and destroy, those principles of free government and that jurisprudence which were their inheritance, and constituted their cherished state-household. As Macaulay says of the English Revolution of 1688, an event which these colonists ever regarded with respect, "in almost every word and act may be discerned a profound reverence for the past." But it was the principles of English constitutional liberty, and not the hereditary monarchy, which held their profound reverence; — the principles of that revolution, so accurately described by the same brilliant writer, and which "of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent. It finally decided the great question whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitzwalter and De Montfort, been found in the English polity, should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develope itself freely, and to become dominant."[1] Hamilton, and the Nationalists of that period who followed his lead, knew that a commonwealth or a Cromwellian era was alike not to the purpose of settling for their country a beneficial, competent, and permanent government.

expression was reported by the mediators to Franklin, and indicated so cool and calculated a purpose in the ministry as to render compromise hopeless, and the negotiation was discontinued." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. 1 (Washington edition).

[1] *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 464.

A commonwealth was no government: it was a thing to be governed. An executive that is good for anything cannot be included as a part of a government floating upon an exclusive democratic plan. None denied the truth of that. The Confederacy, which the Constitution superseded, had no executive head. Commonwealths end in anarchy, or in one-man power. For these reasons the government most natural to the people of America would be — as nearly as a republican form would allow, without losing or impairing its essential distinctiveness — one that might most nearly assimilate to the British constitution "as its model." This proposition was thought best suited to the education, instincts, and real needs of the people; and one requiring no radical or violent change, and allowing "a thorough reform of the existing system." Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jay, thought the same as to this being the requisite model. No commonwealth, no royalty, was correspondent to the conditions and demands of their country. It must be a Republic. "I am fully of opinion," wrote Washington, in answer to Madison, in February, 1787, "that those who lean to a monarchical government . . . . have not consulted the public mind." During the secret debates, Hamilton clearly and boldly took care, not only to be understood, but, that he should not be misunderstood. "These truths," he said, when urging

upon the convention the strength of a senate, to be composed of life members, as a safeguard against the popular will, when impulsive and irregular in its proceedings, "are not often told in public assemblies, but they cannot be unknown to any who hear me." "As long as offices are open to all men, and no constitutional rank is established, it is pure republicanism. But *if we incline too much to democracy, we shall soon shoot into a monarchy.*" "The fabric of THE AMERICAN EMPIRE," are his emphatic words, "ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the People;", and "the streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure original fountain of all legitimate authority."[1] And so, with similar enlightened convictions, it was, that Mirabeau held not his peace when the throne of Louis was staggering to its destruction, and a new frame of government was contemplated for the French people. "Even supposing, my friends," he said, in the unguarded confidence of the moment, when Petion, and other unworthy intimates were present, on that occasion to which we have already referred, "that royalty were now to be abolished; it is not a republic that must be established, — we are not yet ripe for this, — it must be a commonwealth."[2]

[1] *Secret Debates of Convention*, p. 170.

[2] The France of 1872 became "ripe" for a Republic, and its course indicates that the elements of perpetuity are inherent in its present prosperous republican form of government.

He would rather tolerate and curb royalty, than fly to the ills of a commonwealth. "From that moment," says the Prince de Talleyrand, who was at the meeting, "such is my firm belief, his ruin was decided." Mirabeau was soon no more.[1] Hamilton was confident that his own countrymen were "ripe" for the benefaction of a Republic. Sharp experience had, for ages, enured them to self-imposed restraints upon the exercise of their political, moral, and, in the New England communi-

[1] The interview between Mirabeau and Talleyrand, on April 2d, 1791, is one of the most dramatic in personal memoirs. It was but two days before Mirabeau's death, commencing in the afternoon, near the fountain in the gardens of the Palais Royal, and ending late that night at the *restaurateur* Robert's. Talleyrand describes the whole scene, and says that Mirabeau depicted "the terrible future," and that never did "the herculean powers of his mind" appear more impressive. At the dinner his late depression of mind left him; he drank deeply; his spirits rose high; and he sang songs. Talleyrand says, in those recollections, "Already were Mirabeau's views and principles grown too tame, too reasonable, for these infuriated demagogues, and they had several times received with ill-temper his biting sarcasms at what he called their *exaltation républicaine.* I remember the effect produced upon one occasion at a private meeting of his friends, and the gloom and murmurs of rage with which the concluding words of a speech he had risen to make were received." The speech he alludes to is that of which we have, in the text, quoted the concluding words. "From that moment, such is my firm belief, his ruin was decided. The circumstances of his death will certainly justify, both to his friends and to posterity, every suspicion of poison; while, on the other hand, there were no symptoms which could not be accounted for by the complaint under which it had from the first been proclaimed that he was sinking."

ties, even religious absolute rights. They had been educated in a severe school indeed, and the uses of adversity had been sweet to them. The United States of America became, and are, by natural induction, a Republic: constituted by the states in empire.

The death of Cæsar consummated the Roman Empire. The daggers of the conspirators perfected the thing which they meant to destroy. So, by a kindred but ignoble act, did the death of Hamilton bring over the dispositions of men a resurrection of long-buried thought. For a time the turbulent passions sank to a repose, and the still small voice of reason could be heard; and it was heeded. It was the death of Cæsar which brought the Romans under the Empire. The death of Hamilton, in the fullness of time, confirmed the United States of America in their Empire; an empire which has grown, from the inherent energy of its republican union and democratic accretive development, into a Nation, united and strong: rich in national resources and of competent power. A power, new and untried; and which, before those three-score years and ten had gone by, was to be put to the proof of its strength; and, in that proof, was destined to disclose the invincibility of democracy when within the expression and command of republican institutions. The fasces of Roman symbolism has, at last, found in statesman-

ship the truth of which it is the emblem. For one hundred years the experiment of such government has gone on; first, for a few years, by a confederation of its sovereign States, and then, within a more perfect union, with decisive powers and a complete supremacy over all subjects delegated to it by the peoples of the several States, and over those auxiliary subjects which, by implication, may become necessary and convenient to the idea and power of a sovereign national authority. It was given to Hamilton to see political society in its first suggestive indications; in its inchoate, crude process of formation. So he could, and did, observe its growth into a matured organism; and, as we might say, its anatomy became as familiar to him as were those principles which are essential to its viability.

The man and the theme interest us. It was an experiment in governing thitherto unknown or untried. That political arrangement and checkmating among the Italian States, which arose from the brain of Lorenzo de' Medici,[1] is more curious and nice than it proved to be efficacious; and the Italian States soon again were hostile, and remained dissociate and apart. It failed; but the Republic of the United States of America has en-

[1] See Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. 2, p. 3. From that device, however, arose the modern idea of "the balance of power," which has exercised so important a part in European international affairs.

dured; and has passed a century of years since its people declared themselves free and independent. They are united, strong, prosperous; and have, this year of Our Lord, 1876, invited the people of all other lands to come in among them and witness the evidences of their progress in arts and sciences. Her orators have instructed us of the past that we may be enabled to understand and value the present. Pæans have been sung to civil and religious liberty as illustrated and approved by the course of American constitutional government. The Landing of the Pilgrims, and the "Pilgrim's Progress," have again been rehearsed with an unimpaired freshness that age seems not to wither nor custom stale. But not even so much as simply the name of Hamilton has come from either pen or lip on the day they celebrated. Is it, that, praising the tree of constitutional republican liberty and its fruit, and lost in that admiration, they forget the root which, under the ground, still gives that tree life and vigor? We now rise to respond to the neglected name, and offer for acceptance the sentiment: ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *the founder of the American States in Empire.*

On the 17th of September, 1787, the Convention assembled at Philadelphia, at length agreed upon a federo-national Constitution, and closed its deliberations. That Constitution was now to be submitted to a Convention of delegates, chosen in

each State by its people, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and each convention assenting to and ratifying the Convention was to give notice of the act to "the United States in Congress assembled." The delegates on behalf of the people of New York were requested to convene at Poughkeepsie, a town situate on the Hudson River, on the 17th of June following. The contest there for the adoption of the proposed new Constitution was to be earnest, sometimes fierce and acrimonious; and between able and honest citizens who looked on the problem with widely differing interests and opinions. One party, led by George Clinton, then Governor of the State, regarded it as inevitably tending to the strangling of their new-born liberty, and surely to end in monarchy; the other party respected it as the only hope left, by which the disjected members of the existing Confederacy might be compelled to adhere together in a beneficial union; and, thereby avoiding both monarchy and commonwealth, become entitled to the name, power, and credit of a nation. The moment was critical. The future of the colonies, now by fact of arms a nation in a league, hung trembling. The geographical and political positions of New York, as related to the other States, were most important and precarious, and full of danger to itself.

The man who had led, and who was to continue

to guide, the Nationalists to successful, ultimate triumphs, was at this interval of time in the city of Albany. He had married, in 1780, Elizabeth, the second daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of that city, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution. Hamilton was now but thirty-one years old. His reputation for address, energy, and propriety of judgment, exceeded that of other men. His was, what Lamartine says of Mirabeau's wisdom, "the infallibility of good sense." The epithet precocious never applied to him. From his youth up his intellectual work had none of the infirmities of unripe effort. He was one of those few instances in which an intuitive knowledge seems to supersede the labor of learning, and the hidden nature of things appears to come without the effort of experiment. "He could see consequents yet dormant in their principles."[1] This sounds like extravagant eulogy, but the full development of our theme will show that we are painting an accurate portrait in natural colors. The founders of empire are the exception in history. Perhaps history does not teach a more interesting example of man's faith in a principle, and of heroism in its propagation. Columbus did not previse, in his mind's eye, more clearly, beyond the waste of waters, a new physical world, than did Hamilton perceive the new world of political household

[1] South's *Works*, vol. 1, p. 26

Simple, abiding faith, in what to them was an intellectual demonstration of unrevealed truth, impelled each to embark for untried, unknown, speculative worlds. The fecundity, power, vigor, and maturity of his intellectual labors had then as fully impressed his contemporaries as they have since impressed posterity. Knowledge, as acquired, was in him carried into faculty. He had in rare endowment the two faculties which are the prerogative of man: the powers of abstraction and of imagination. The "occasion sudden" never found him unprepared. It seemed intuition. This intuitional genius of his mind attracted the attention of the most acute and exact judge of men that modern times has produced.

When Talleyrand, in stress of politics, arrived in America, in 1794, he became personally and intimately acquainted with Hamilton. There were many things in common to the previous studies of these two extraordinary characters, and their political experiences were not without likeness. Dissimilar in their mental and moral natures, each revealed to the other unique resources for deep conference. Friendship followed admiration. The cool head and heart of Talleyrand were aglow with a fervid respect. They readily understood each other. They had each worked upon like subjects of public concern, and each had been employed by his respective country in similar ques-

ch. Maurice de Talleyrand

Fac-simile from a picture presented by the Marquis de Talleyrand-Perigord, at Valencay, to the author.

Heliotype Printing Co., Boston.

tions of national finance and public credit. While yet the Abbé de Perigord, Talleyrand had acquired a serviceable knowledge of the science of finance, and of the fiscal condition of his nation. His studies were pursued chiefly during a brief season of retirement at Autun. Hamilton's were wrought out amid the stir of active war; and his famous letter to Robert Morris was written by camp-fires, while the army was in winter quarters at Morristown. They had each come to the belief and advocated that "in a national bank alone can be found the ingredients to constitute a wholesome, solid, and beneficial credit." Talleyrand, when Necker presented his elaborate report on the fiscal state of France, found an opportunity on that occasion to prove his knowledge of the subject, and his ability to develop and make it intelligible and interesting. In his speech, December 4, 1789, he had proposed a national bank, and the accumulation of a sinking fund for the gradual payment of the public debt. On January 28, 1790, he had reported a plan for the establishment of a mint. They had also, each, considered of, and, by the request of the national legislatures reported, a scheme concerning manufactures and commerce, and an adequate protective policy.[1] Talleyrand

[1] Hamilton was the parent of protection to American industry. Henry Clay and, afterwards, Horace Greeley were the revivers of his policy, and its persistent advocates.

had proposed a uniform system of weights and measures; a system looking to uniformity among all nations; and it was adopted by his exertions, — it has proved to be the one most worthy of universal use. They had each formed a plan of public education. Talleyrand had presented his report to the National Assembly. In it he treated of the origin of public education, its objects, its organization, and its methods. It is said that this was the first time public education, as a duty of the state, had been proposed in Europe. The plan, it is true, was not then undertaken. But when public affairs became settled after the Revolution of 1830, and when a citizen king was brought in, chiefly by Talleyrand's diplomacy, a kindred system of national instruction was established, in which the main features of his plan were engrafted upon the more mature and perfect school system which had been devised by Hamilton. They had, also, each confirmed opinions concerning the general nature and science of popular government. Those opinions were alike, and came from like reflection. Their conception of a legislative assembly had been inspired by the English theory. The English constitution was no exotic in France. It had borne fruit there from an early day. A Philip de Comines had praised its polity in the fifteenth century, and a De Lolme had explained its growth, lauded its principles of

civil liberty, and enforced its example three centuries later. A simple single assembly was not a fit depositary for power. So thought Hamilton, instructed by the lessons of the Congress of the Confederation; and so thought Talleyrand, instructed by those of the States-General at Versailles. Their studies had been in the deep, clear, tranquil principles of the English Constitution, as instituted by Alfred the Great; overborne for centuries by the Norman Conquest, and revived in dignity and power when England, in the Revolution of 1688, re-settled its liberties upon the ancient foundations from which it had been violently pushed centuries before. The principle of the Revolution of 1688 was the instructive prototype which sanctioned the revolt of the American colonists in 1776. Talleyrand had wished as well for France; but 1793, as a mighty flood, had burst its way through all restraints and dykes, and spread destruction and desolation far and wide. The people became a mob; then, naturally and of course, absolute power became centered in few hands; then the Reign of Terror. France had attempted to establish philosophy by crime, and liberty by license. Hamilton and Talleyrand had learned by experience that true government was law; and in constitutional law alone was to be found perfect liberty. It is well worth the time to continue this comparison a while longer, that we

may so observe how similarly men act when nursed in the same *alma mater* of statehousehold. Like principles, when followed, produce like results. Hamilton rejected in his theory of government for America all forms which were not the embodiments of a true republican system. Hence he regarded the English Constitution as the "best model to work from." Talleyrand's preference was for a limited and constitutional monarchy. Lafayette and the constitutional party had the same preference; and they and Talleyrand were the sincere reproducers of the doctrines of Mirabeau. A government for the people, rather than a government by the people. This habit of thought Hamilton and Talleyrand had already acted upon when they each represented their constituencies in a public representative capacity. They had each acted upon "implied powers." As in the Convention of 1787, at Philadelphia, so at Versailles, in 1789, the delegates were called upon to decide whether they would obey the literal instructions received. A majority in each of these popular assemblies decided that it was their duty, as representatives, to consult the interests, in preference to the opinions, of their constituents. Edmund Burke had more than once, in 1774–80, taken the same exalted ground before the electors of Bristol.[1] Indeed, when the States-General were

[1] "Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his

summoned to meet together at Versailles, nothing was contemplated beyond a consultation on the state of France. A constitution was not dreamed of, and its solemn acceptance by the king was a vision that had not arisen before the wildest fancy. Talleyrand was among the foremost in the making of that constitution. Jefferson was then the American Plenipotentiary to France, and a frequent spectator of the proceedings at Versailles. America had set an example concerning the duty of representatives, which, perhaps, was not without its influence. When the delegates were appointed to Philadelphia "there was no expectation on the part of any State that any other principle would be adopted as the basis of action than that by which the Articles of Confederation contemplated that all changes should be effected by the action of the States assembled by the unanimous assent of the different state legislatures." But the American delegates gave to their instructions a broader purpose by interpretation, and claimed, by inference, a corresponding authority. They esteemed it safer to be faithful to the object of the trust, and not mechanical reflectors of impulsive sentiment; to have the determination of public questions follow, not precede, debate. This was the

judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion." — Burke's *Works*, vol. 3, p. 232: his Speech on the Conclusion of the Poll (1774).

way they spoke and acted at Philadelphia, and at Versailles. Hamilton and Talleyrand had thus, each independently of the other, concurred in the fundamental axiom of the essentiality of "implied powers." It is the key-note to the progress and history of the American Republic. In the due occurrence, or chance, which brought these two men into the active, responsible administrations of the governments of their countries, there is a striking coincidence. The picture does not lack completion even in its mere accessories of circumstance. Calonne, Minister of Finance, desired Mirabeau to draft a paper on the finances of the country. Mirabeau declined; but he directed the attention of the minister to Talleyrand: "You have stated to me the regret you experienced at my unwillingness to devote my feeble talents to the embodying of your conceptions. Permit me, sir, to point out to you a man more deserving, in every respect, of this proof of confidence. The Abbé de Perigord unites great and tried abilities to profound circumspection and unshaken discretion. You will never find a man . . . . who possesses more the capacity to conceive great designs, and the courage to execute them." Washington, forming his first cabinet, applied to Robert Morris, the famous financier of the revolutionary and confederate epochs, to undertake the duties of the Secretaryship of the Treasury; he declined, but named

Hamilton "as the one man in the United States" fitted by studies and ability to create a public credit, and to bring the resources of the country into active efficiency. Washington found, in his former military secretary, the one thing most needed; the fiscal affairs of the nation at once were organized, and prosperity quickly came. Hamilton achieved therein an immediate success which, all agree, is without parallel.

Talleyrand felt in France that a destructive tempest was coming, and, admonished, he procured an appointment on a mission to England to elude its direct effects; he was, nevertheless, proscribed by his own country; he was ordered, by direction of Pitt, under the alien law, to depart from Great Britain within three days. He had known Pitt, in his youth, when he was, during a short stay, the guest at Paris of the Bishop of Rheims, an uncle of Talleyrand's; but he thought it indelicate to remind the supercilious minister of the former acquaintance.[1] Nowhere in Europe could the pro-

[1] During the first interview between Pitt and Talleyrand, when the latter was on his first mission to England, in 1791, he thought it was Pitt's place to recollect their former acquaintance, — for which reason Talleyrand did not mention it. Pitt, who did not wish for any renewal of intimacy, did not even allude to the circumstance, nor speak to him about his uncle. Talleyrand did not forget the incivility in after life, and when Austerlitz was fought and won he came near consummating a European league, of which England was to be the hostile objective point. That plan proposed to Napoleon at Ulm was found, in Talleyrand's own hand-

scribed and excommunicated Perigord find a safe refuge; so, in 1794, he departed for America. There he remained until the decree of proscription was, in September, 1795, revoked. Talleyrand and Hamilton soon met, of course. Their friendship is not a mere episode, but constitutes a prominent chapter, in their memoirs. Hamilton was then Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's administration. He had done the great work of his public life; redeemed the financial honor of his country; established its public credit; and set in motion the springs of its abundant and many sources of prosperity. He was in the thirty-seventh year of his age — Talleyrand was but three years his senior. Hamilton spoke the French language fluently, with correctness, and fine expression. Each was master of a language common to both. Hamilton's ruddy, vivacious countenance, inviting confidence, was in notable contrast to the other's pale repose; but the fascination of Talleyrand's bland and polished manner was irresistible for Hamilton. Talleyrand's experience of remarkable men was great and varied. He had met Voltaire when the philosopher of Ferney came for

writing, among his secret papers, after his death. Napoleon had other ambitious views, and neglected the project. The Talleyrand of 1830–38 had a changed policy, and desired a close friendship between England and France. The reciprocal visits of the sovereigns at Windsor and St. Cloud were among the results of that policy.

the last time to Paris. The young Abbé was enchanted with the keen intelligence and subtle speech of that supreme scoffer of the eighteenth century. He was received in a darkened chamber, and through an opening in the curtains it was so arranged that a single stream of subdued light fell upon the seated, draped figure of Voltaire. The light fell on him alone. It was the Rembrandt effect. The genius of philosophy in *chiaro-oscuro*.[1] Talleyrand's susceptible vein of satire was

[1] Voltaire was much given to the *coup de théatre*. The familiar scene in the Academy of Science (April 29, 1778), is graphically described by John Adams, who was there among the spectators. "Voltaire and Franklin were both present, and there arose a general cry that M. Voltaire and M. Franklin should be introduced to each other. This was done, and they bowed and spoke to each other. . . . . But this was not enough. The clamor continued until the exclamation came out, 'Il faut s'embrasser à la Française.' The two aged actors upon the great theatre of philosophy and frivolity then embraced each other, by hugging one another in their arms and kissing each other's cheeks, and then the tumult subsided. And the cry immediately spread throughout the kingdom, and I suppose throughout Europe, 'Qu'il était charmant de voir embrasser Solon et Sophocle!'" "When the American philosopher," says Condorcet, "presented his grandson for his benediction, 'God and Liberty,' uttered Voltaire, 'the only benediction suitable for a grandson of Franklin.'" — *Franklin's Life* (Bigelow's edition), vol. 2, p. 431.

When the writer of this essay was at Ferney, Switzerland, in the summer of 1870, he noticed on the wall of the chamber in which Voltaire died an engraved likeness of Franklin. All things in that chamber remain as at the time of Voltaire's death, and that engraving retains its place among the portraits of the distinguished men whom he liked to honor even in his household.

touched; but he wondered at the colloquial power of Voltaire. That wonder was not elevated nor tempered by respect. He early became captivated by the companionable qualities, discriminating taste, and superb intellect of Hamilton. Hamilton, in truth, was a revelation to Talleyrand of a higher degree of human nature, and brought to his recollection afresh the impressions of Mirabeau and of Charles James Fox. He found in Hamilton one who was, also, as preëminently as himself in his own famous social sphere, the first of conversationists. While the sparkling *mots* of Talleyrand flew from lips to ear with the applause of delightful excitement, it was always the strong sense of Hamilton's that lodged his animated thought into the very mind, and there induced reflection. Each was distinctively a gem — yet alike. As the single drop of pure dew resembles its crystallized similitude, the diamond, so did the clear intellect of Hamilton resemble that of Talleyrand. The one, full of life and lustrous — the other, fixed and brilliant. Talleyrand, notwithstanding this dry intellectual quality, was probably capable of deep moral feeling and as sensitive as Hamilton. If Talleyrand were, indeed, the ideal of attractive insincerities and elegant deceptiveness, which gossips of the *salons* have represented him to be, he could have felt little pleasure in the frank, ingenuous nature of Hamilton; nor could the latter have so

given himself to a devious-minded, artful, plausible diplomatist prone and skilled to circumvent and deceive. It will yet surely be entirely disclosed, when the seal of the secret memoirs of the Prince is broken and they are unfolded, — as they are promised to be within the next fifteen years, — that the judgment pronounced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington will be verified and approved.[1] His real character and his agency in the great affairs of his time will not be fairly known until they are seen as drawn by his own hand.

The personal individuality of Talleyrand is a familiar historical portrait. His features were handsome and refined; soft blue eyes, much veiled by the lids, contributed to an air of quiet reverie,

[1] In answer to remarks which fell from Lord Londonderry, October, 1831, concerning Prince Talleyrand, the Duke of Wellington said that none of the great measures resolved upon at Vienna and Paris had been concerted or carried on without the intervention of that eminent person. "In all the transactions in which I have been engaged with Prince Talleyrand, no man could have conducted himself with more firmness and ability in regard to his own country, or with more uprightness and honor in all his communications with the ministers of other countries, than Prince Talleyrand. No man's public and private character has ever been so much belied as those of that illustrious individual." Lord Holland added that no man's private character had been more shamefully traduced, and no man's public conduct more mistaken and misrepresented, than that of Talleyrand. His behavior towards the American Commissioners at Paris, in 1797–98, will be likely to receive consideration in a subsequent part of this essay.

which, being habitual to him, was popularly misconstrued for an indication of natural secretiveness and politic scheming; and this habit blended and was in harmony with the pensiveness and aristocratic delicacy of his complexion. The defect of lameness was not readily observable in his handsome figure and graceful demeanor. Would not the pen of a Walter Savage Landor have had a felicitous labor in depicting the probable conferences of these two characters in an "Imaginary Conversation;" one that would have won our admiration as that fabled between Talleyrand and Louis XVIII. moves us to contempt and mirth. The respect and friendship of Talleyrand for Hamilton always continued; and, when the former was permitted to return to his native land, he called upon Hamilton to say adieu. Seeing on the mantel-piece a miniature of the American Secretary, he took it in hand and requested it for a souvenir. Hamilton was not free to give it; so Talleyrand borrowed it, and had a verisimilitude painted in France, which yet keeps its place on the walls of the home of the Talleyrands. It is that portrait which has been engraved, and is known as the Talleyrand miniature. It represents Hamilton in the civic costume of the time, with hair powdered, ending in a cue; and it bears a likeness to the celebrated bust by Cerrachi. There is an anecdote connected with this miniature which Tal

leyrand related to Mr. Van Buren during the last evening they spent together in London. "Burr," said the Prince, "called in pursuance of a previous communication from him, and his card being brought up, he directed the messenger to say that he could not receive a visit from Colonel Burr, and referred him, for an explanation of his refusal, to a painting hanging over the mantel-piece in the ante-chamber, which was a portrait of Hamilton." Talleyrand frequently spoke his high opinion of Hamilton's genius. He had, before he went to America, learned much of him; his renown had reached Versailles. A translation of "The Federalist" appeared in Paris in 1792. Talleyrand, therefore, expected to find in him one who was deeply versed in all questions relating to general government, and its bearing on American republicanism; but he did not expect to find in him a comprehensive and penetrating intellect which had pierced through and through the very substance of the politics of Europe; and was grasping the entire controversy that was about to make Europe one immense battle-field, upon which its giant frame should sink down exhausted by the paroxysm. He laid bare the subject with marvelous power of simplification. "One day in January, 1819, talking with Prince Talleyrand, in Paris, about his visit to America, he expressed the highest admiration of Mr. Hamilton, saying, among

other things, that he had known nearly all the marked men of his time, but that he had never known one, on the whole, equal to him. I was most surprised and gratified," writes in 1854 the celebrated George Ticknor, "with the remark; but still, feeling that, as an American, I was in some sort a party concerned by patriotism in the compliment, I answered with a little reserve, that the great military commanders and the great statesmen of Europe had dealt with larger masses and wider interests than he had. 'Mais, Monsieur,' the Prince instantly replied, 'Hamilton avait *deviné* l'Europe.'"[1] Talleyrand repeated the same opinion to others; and on some of those occasions mentioned the most exalted characters he had personally known as less in intellectual greatness than Hamilton.[2] "When I was Minister of the

[1] Curtis's *History of the Constitution of the United States*, vol. 2, p. 410, note. The word "diviné" was a favorite one with Talleyrand. When on his death-bed books of devotion were brought to him, at his own request, one especially, *The Christian Religion Studied in the True Spirit of its Maxims*. "The recollections which you recall," said he to his spiritual adviser and friend, the Abbé Dupanloup, "are dear to me, and I thank you for having divined the place they have preserved in my thoughts and in my heart."

[2] "Le prince, qui fut son ami et qui vécut avec lui durant son séjour en Amérique, répondit à quelqu'un qui lui demandait quels étaient les hommes les plus remarquables qu'il avait rencontrés dans sa longue carrière: 'Je considère Napoléon, Fox, et Hamilton comme les trois plus grands hommes de notre époque, et si je devais me prononcer entre les trois, je donnerais sans hésiter la

United States in England," writes President Van Buren, "I saw much of Prince Talleyrand, the French Ambassador at the same court, and enjoyed relations of marked kindness with him. In my formal visits to him we had long and frequent conversations, in which Hamilton, his acquaintance with him in this country, and incidents in their intercourse, were his favorite themes. He always spoke with great admiration of his talents, and during the last evening that I spent with him he said that he regarded Hamilton as the ablest man he became acquainted with in America, — he was not sure that he might not add without injustice, or that he had known in Europe."

What we wish to have noted is, that this master judge of men had accurately observed and correctly valued that most peculiar quality of Hamilton's mind, which qualified him to "see consequents yet dormant in their principles." [1] To exhibit the

première place à Hamilton. Il avait deviné l'Europe.'" — *Étude sur la République*, par le Marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, p. 192.

[1] Since writing the above the author has come upon the following passage in Mr. Curtis's *History of the Constitution*, vol. 1, p. 410: Hamilton's "great characteristic was his profound insight into the principles of government. The sagacity with which he comprehended all systems, and the thorough knowledge he possessed of the working of all the freer institutions of ancient and modern times, united with a singular capacity to make the experience of the past bear on the actual state of society, rendered him one of the most useful statesmen that America has known. Whatever in the science of government had already been ascertained; whatever the civil condition of mankind in any age had made practi-

means which Talleyrand had for forming his opinion has been the chief reason why we have indulged ourselves in making this parallel of individual history, and of their mental and moral characteristics.[1]

Guizot, also, had read and reflected much upon the writings and political acts of Hamilton; and he says that Hamilton "must be classed among the men who have best known the vital principles and fundamental conditions of a government; not of a government such as this [alluding to the government of France at that moment], but of a government worthy of its mission and of its name."

His writing was of the school of Bolingbroke, and reminds us of that which Edmund Burke was still capable of at the time when he wrote "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents." The letters in "The Federalist" are the best examples of his style of written expres-

cable, or proved abortive; whatever experience had demonstrated, whatever the passions, the interests, or the wants of men had made inevitable, — he seemed to know intuitively. But he was no theorist. His powers were all eminently practical." Mr. Curtis's *History* is a very lucid recital of the course of events which lead to the project and to the adoption of the federal Constitution, and is enriched with graphic sketches of the several persons who assisted in the great undertaking.

[1] Talleyrand was born at Paris in 1754, and died at the hotel, which still bears his name, in that city, Thursday, May 17, 1838. He outlived Hamilton thirty-four years.

sion; they are, also, the most highly esteemed and widely read. "'The Federalist,' written principally by Hamilton," says the "Edinburgh Review," No. 24, "exhibits an extent and precision of information, a profundity of research, and an accurateness of understanding which would have done honor to the most illustrious statesmen of ancient or modern times;" and "Blackwood's Magazine," January, 1825, observes: "It is a work altogether, which, for comprehensiveness of design, strength, clearness, and simplicity has no parallel. We do not even except or overlook those of Montesquieu and Aristotle among the writings of men." Guizot said: "In the application of elementary principles of government to practical administration it was the greatest work known to him." Three translations of "The Federalist" have been published in France; but no edition, as yet, so far as we are informed, has been printed in Great Britain. "Vous avez lu 'Le Fédéraliste'?" said Talleyrand to the Duc d'Aranda, then the Envoy from Spain at the French court. "Non," replied the ambassador. "Lisez donc-lisez," added Talleyrand, with emphasis.[1] But much as has been, and may be,

[1] The latest edition of *The Federalist* is that one edited by Mr. John C. Hamilton, a son of the statesman, and published by Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, in 1875. The *Historical Notice*, which is written by Mr. Hamilton, and prefaces the book, is careful, candid, and full, and supplies all that seems to be desirable to elucidate its history and aid in its study.

repeated concerning "The Federalist," it is the official advice, given by Hamilton, when Secretary of the Treasury, to President Washington, on the legality of a National Bank of the United States, in which he develops fully his doctrine concerning the "implied powers" of that government, which will remain forever as the maturest monument of his philosophy in the broadest domain of American political jurisprudence. Chief Justice Marshall is the judicial expositor[1] of the meaning

[1] "Trois noms se détachent en relief dans l'histoire, et sont ce que j'appellerai la clef de voûte sur laquelle se construira le grand édifice de l'Union américaine. Ces noms sont ceux de Washington, Hamilton, Marshall. Ils ne sont pas choisis arbitrairement ni à la légère ; ce sont leurs actes, les faits eux-mêmes qui les portent en avant, qui les détachent en lumière sur les autres, et font qu'ils attirent du premier coup de l'œil l'attention de celui qui étudie l'histoire des colonies américaines." — *Étude sur la République des États-Unis d'Amérique*, par le Marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, p. 188.

"John Marshall, chief-justice des États-Unis, fut l'homme qui entreprit ce long et difficile travail ; il sut l'accomplir avec une supériorité telle qu'on peut sans hésiter le comparer, pour l'erudition et l'interprétation claire et précise des lois, au chancelier d'Aguesseau." — p. 190.

In the foregoing extracts the younger representative of the house of Talleyrand, with its traditional intelligence and acuteness, shows that he has discerned the true relation of Marshall to be that of the acknowledged expositor of the Constitution. The following extract from the same book, shows that he has formed a right conception of Hamilton : —

"Ce fut au génie constructeur politique d'Alexander Hamilton que l'Amérique doit sa constitution ; ce fut lui qui fournit les matériaux essentiels, qui la composent. C'est à lui qu'elle doit le plan général de l'édifice ; c'est lui qui dessina les lignes qui font de cette

of the Constitution, and he ever esteemed the writings of Hamilton as the reasonable and safest guide in its interpretation. The judgments of the Supreme Court, especially when Marshall presided there, upon questions arising under the Constitution, are commentaries upon the knowledge and wisdom of which those writings are the depositary.

The elaborate report "nominally upon manufactures, but embracing in its range every pursuit of human industry susceptible of encouragement under an unlimited government," was thought by President Van Buren to be "Hamilton's masterpiece;" and, he says, that by it "the subject was first brought to the notice, and recommended to the consideration of Congress."

It must be within the scope of this study to treat of Hamilton as a jurist in the labors peculiar to the profession. For that side of his triple talents cannot be wholly passed by unnoticed. It will be remarked that his labors therein were akin to

constitution un des monuments les plus remarquables de l'histoire. Grâce à son énergie, à son patriotisme, à sa merveilleuse intelligence et à son éloquence, il parvint à diriger l'esprit public vers la nécessité d'une union plus cohérente, plus parfaite. Sachant faire taire les sentiments égoïstes des différents Etats, ils les amena á concourir à l'achèvement du grand œuvre. La constitution achevée, une chose restait à accomplir : il fallait donner une interprétation iudiciaire, claire, précise, et lucide de cette constitution dans les rapports constants qu'elle serait appellée à avoir avec les événements publics." — p. 190.

those of his political life, — the creative and organizing faculty was ever industrious and productive. Chancellor Kent, in an address which he delivered October 21, 1836, before the Law Association of the city of New York, gives a sketch of this phase of the public life of Hamilton, whose marvelous power for continued labor and vigorous aptitude for deep research impressed the Chancellor from their first acquaintance. It was the custom of Hamilton, he says, to "ransack cases and precedents to their very foundations;" and that he did not content himself with anything less than going to the original sources; that he was familiar with the great Civilians, and thoroughly imbued with the ample and comprehensive spirit which distinguishes their writings; and that he, pursuing with elaborate care, attained rich results by, "inquiries into the commercial codes of the nations of the European continent."[1] It is certain that, on

[1] The writer has been informed, but by whom he finds himself now unable to recollect, that Chancellor Kent was influenced by the urgent advice of Hamilton to give the special attention, which he did, to the works of the Civilians. The writer, when a boy, had the honor to be known to the Chancellor, and read to him in his room at William S. Johnson's law-offices, in New York, the copy, while the Chancellor corrected the proof-sheets for the third volume of the third edition of the Commentaries. This was in 1841. The Chancellor was one of the most lively, charming, companionable of men, and very loquacious. It may be probable that the writer was told at that time by the Chancellor how it was he gave such special devotion to the study of the civil law, although it

the retirement of Chief Justice Jay, the office of the Chief Justice of the United States was offered to Hamilton, so high did he stand in the estimation of all as a lawyer. He declined the nomination. His ambition and duty lay elsewhere in the public service. There are traditions which preserve an idea of his manner as a forensic advocate. They remind us somewhat of the manner which Brougham describes as characteristic of Erskine. Animated reasoning, glowing, chaste diction, and forcible earnestness were the elements which marked their efforts at the bar. None of Hamilton's forensic speeches were reported in full. Even the speech in which he submitted, in the case of *The People* v. *Croswell*, the definition of a libel, punishable as a public offense, is only a skeleton of the chief points and of the general course of reasoning. That definition has been incorporated into the jurisprudence of the several States and of foreign countries, and in some of the States has been embodied in the constitutions.

We have something to say of his manner of popular speaking. It was deliberate, sustained, and impassioned. Those who heard both have spoken of his manner as like that of the younger Pitt. But Pitt was cold, lofty, and declamatory. Ham-

would have been for any one, besides that amiable, eminent man, an unusual topic to speak of to a mere lad. See Appendix A.

ilton was warm and genial, and considered the logical more than the mere rhetorical. Both, however, had the same weighty and authoritative air. But Pitt was not a great lawyer, nor, if Lord Macaulay's judgment could be regarded as sound,[1] was he a great statesman. Tried by the standard of that age, he was a great man. That standard was in parliamentary government, which is described as "government by speaking." Pitt was surely a great "master of the whole art of parliamentary government." He domineered over the minds of his auditors. Legislation and administration were with him secondary matters. His inferiority becomes obvious when he is compared with a Sully, a Somers, an Oxenstiern, a John De Witt, and, let us add unhesitatingly, a Hamil-

1 "Very idle apprehensions were generally entertained, that the public debt, though much less than a third of the debt which we now bear with ease, would be found too heavy for the strength of the nation. Those apprehensions might not perhaps have been easily quieted by reason. But Pitt quieted them by a juggle. He succeeding in persuading first himself, and then the whole nation, his opponents included, that a new sinking fund, which, so far as it differed from former sinking funds, differed for the worse, would by virtue of some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums, not taken out of the pocket of the tax-payer. The country, terrified by a danger which was no danger, hailed with delight and boundless confidence a remedy which was no remedy. The minister was almost universally extolled as the greatest of financiers." — Article, "William Pitt," written by Macaulay, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January, 1859.

ton. These men were great as projectors of government. Great in the closet, great at the council board, and some of them great in the arena of debate. Hamilton was a marvel of success in creating a credit, and relieving his country from the burden of debt. Pitt was a failure in his financial system, and increased the public debt of England to such an incomprehensible magnitude, that his admirers are fond of mitigating the burden by describing it as a public blessing. The habit of comparing these two men, in all other mental respects dissimilar, has come from the attractive circumstances of each having at so early an age been brought into the public service of his own country; each being, in a maturity of youth, the conspicuous member of the administration of government; and having a manner of oratory belonging to the same school. Hamilton was as great as Pitt in the control of the will of deliberative assemblies. Hamilton, in common with Pitt, had that moral virtue inestimable for the talented and successful public man: he was known to be free from avarice and kindred dishonesty. Poor in the midst of abundance, and surrounded with the temptation of opportunity to get money, he neglected his own individual advantages, and dedicated himself to his country. This virtue his most adverse political foes admitted and admired. "Mr. Jefferson's habitual tone in speaking of Col-

onel Hamilton," wrote the Hon. Nicholas P. Trist, May 31, 1857, to President Van Buren, "was always the very reverse of that in which he spoke of those whose characters, personal or political, were objects of his disesteem. It was invariably such as to indicate, and to infuse a high estimate of Colonel Hamilton, as a man, whether considered with reference to personal matters or to political matters. As regards politics, their convictions, their creeds, were diametrically opposite." And President Van Buren, for himself, speaks of "Hamilton's elevated character in private life: upon whose integrity and fidelity in his personal dealings, and in the discharge of every private trust that was reposed in him, no shadow rested, who was indifferent to the accumulation of wealth, who as a public man was so free from intrigues for personal advancement, and whose thoughts and acts in that character were so constantly directed to great questions and great interests." His health was impaired and nearly broke under the loads imposed by his public and private duties. Talleyrand was walking, late one night, past the small brick house in Garden Street, in the city of New York, where Hamilton kept his law chambers. He was, as usual, at work. The next day the Prince, calling upon a lady, said to her: "I have seen one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man laboring all night for the support

of his family, who has made the fortune of a nation."

The name and personal appearance of Hamilton were, at the epoch of the formation of the American Constitution, familiar to the American people. He was, as has been described to the writer by some that knew and one that loved him,[1] a small, lithe figure, instinct with life; erect, and steady in gait; a military presence, without the intolerable accuracy of a martinet; and his general address was graceful and nervous, indicating the beauty, energy, and activity of his mind. A bright, ruddy complexion; light-colored hair; a mouth infinite in expression, its sweet smile being most observable and most spoken of; eyes lustrous with deep meaning and reflection, or glancing with quick canny pleasantry, and the whole countenance decidedly Scottish in form and expression. He was, as may be inferred, the welcome guest and cheery companion in all relations of civil and social life. His political enemies frankly spoke of his manner and conversation, and regretted its irresistible charm. He certainly had a correct sense of that which is appropriate to the occasion and its object: the attribute which we call good taste. His manner, with a natural change, be-

[1] Catherine V. R. Cochrane, the sister-in-law of Hamilton, and youngest daughter of General Schuyler. She spent the latter years of her life at Oswego, N. Y.

came very calm and grave when "deliberation and public care" claimed his whole attention. At the time of which we now speak particularly (1787), he was continually brooding over the State convention then at hand; moods of engrossing thought came upon him even as he trod the crowded streets, and then his pace would become slower, his head be slightly bent downward, and, with hands joined together behind, he wended his way, his lips moving in concert with the thoughts forming in his mind. This habit of thinking, and this attitude, became involuntary with him as he grew in years.

Such was the individuality, personal, intellectual, and moral, of Alexander Hamilton — the architect and organizer of the new frame of government. It has been imputed that he managed the affair in water too deep for others. True. Not, however, in a deceitful or objectionable, but in a wise and masterly, sense. He knew well that in deep waters shallows and dangerous rocks are best avoided. It is only in our own times that a war for that Union has enabled us to really fathom the comprehensive depth of his intentions and policy.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY.

OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

HAMILTON was ever conspicuous above his fellows.[1] He was not a type, nor the fruit, of the age which produced the American Republic. That age stands alone, and was peculiar and original. Yet therein lay the material with which, "when smoothed and shaped and fitted to its place," perfect wisdom built the fabric of the new government. Let us observe these circumstances. They affect the career of him whose history we write. In the requirements of that age the soaring genius of Hamilton found congenial work. Few of the influential colonists had personal ambition. When they took office and honors it was because these came to them in the road of duty. Hamilton was ambitious. While he was still a lad of fourteen years he had written [November 11, 1769] to another lad named Edward Stevens, "My ambition is prevalent, so that I contemn the grov-

[1] "Whoever was second, Hamilton was first."—J. M. Mason, D. D., in his oration, 1804.

eling ambition of a clerk, or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I . . . mean to prepare the way for futurity;" and he concludes by saying, "I wish there was a war."[1] The cause of the colonists opened a path of glory for this ambitious spirit, and the principles of the contest commended it to his understanding and honor. Its motive and its justice lifted it above the ordinary level of insurrection. It was a decorous, firm, though at last armed, resistance, under the sanction and in support of the principles of English liberty. The chosen leaders of the colonial cause of that epoch, [1761–1776] for accurate knowledge and profound thought in politics, were above the public men of European nations. It could not be said of that time, as it has been said of us in the present day by one of our most intelligent and friendly commentators, "that in no other country are there so few men of great learning, and so few men of great ignorance."[2] The people then were better read, for they reflected, upon subjects concerning their public affairs, than any other people of any other nation or time. We

[1] *The Works of Hamilton*, vol. 1, page 1.

[2] Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, vol. 1, pp. 240, 241, and De Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. 1, p. 91: "Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait de pays dans le monde où, proportion gardée avec la population, il se trouve aussi peu d'ignorante et moins de savants qu'en Amérique.'

do not say more variously and eruditely — but better; inasmuch as they knew that of which they read, and pondered it in their understanding. Those who founded the Dutch Republic and the United Netherlands come nearest in parallel. We should be inclined, were it permissible, to compare these colonists, "tried and tutored in the world," with that golden age of England, which, comprehending the last half of the sixteenth century, gave to mankind new worlds in philosophy, eloquence, poetry, science, arts, settled the character of the English tongue, and showed in that tongue, as Dean Church observes, "the elements of a most powerful and flexible instrument of expression." The epochs are not similar — but the contrast would bring into full relief the undying benefactions conferred by each.

In the means of general and universal knowledge, no former time can be named equal, in any considerable degree, to those of our own. The Newspaper now in reality performs the wondrous myth of the magician in the Arabian Nights, bringing before our mind's eye, in one assemblage, the transactions of the whole world. But its rich profusion stifles thought; and the mind, as a mirror, appears to reflect in profound depths — while all is surface and unimpressed. It was not thus in the colonies before the Revolutionary epoch. Consciousness then had its perfect work. Those

who were regarded as representative men saw and meditated upon the very science of government as it was exemplified in the organization and development of the village communities. They observed, as well as read; and fed on thoughts moved by their observation.

The eleven years which immediately preceded that [1772] when Hamilton came to the province of New York, were years of intense feeling and of active discussions. There, and throughout the colonies, those discussions were on the most imminent practical movements in political and ecclesiastical governance. It was not a debate or controversy merely. It was, on the part of the colonists, a serious, searching, conscientious examination and deliberation. Those authors whose writings stood highest — those who had risen above advocacy of selfish interests — were most popular and authoritative. Edmund Burke emphasized the disposition and facility with which the American intellect searched to the subtle nature of things. It was a time in which the writings of Hobbes of Malmsbury; the "Oceana" of Harrington; Sydney on Government; the political tracts of Lord Somers, particularly that on "The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations;"[1] the

[1] This pamphlet was reprinted and published (11th edition) at Philadelphia, in 1773. Its effect is very manifest in the formation of opinion among the leaders of the colonial resistance. There can

works of Grotius, of Puffendorf, of Vinnius, of Montesquieu, of Locke, of Vattel; the "Patriot King" of Bolingbroke, and the Institutes of Justinian were studied. "In no country perhaps in the world was the law so general a study."[1] There

be no doubt that its reprinting in this country was a part of the plan by which those leaders were diffusing political knowledge throughout the country. Somers has left an ineffaceable impress upon the ablest minds of America. Daniel Webster, speaking of the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, wrote to the late Lord Campbell, that he esteemed Somers the greatest constitutional lawyer that England had produced, and that he had read everything which he ever found and knew to be Somers' work. The title of this remarkable pamphlet is curious, and indicates the substance of its subject: *The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People; shewing The Nature of Government in general, both from God and Man. An Account of the British Government; and the Rights and Privileges of the People in the Time of the Saxons and since the Conquest. The Government which God ordained over the Children of Israel; and that all Magistrates and Governors proceed from the People, by many Examples in Scripture and History; and the Duty of Magistrates from Scripture and Reason. An Account of Eleven Emperors, and above fifty Kings deprived for their evil Government. The Right of the People and Parliament of Britain, to RESIST and DEPRIVE their Kings for evil government, by King Henry's Charter; and likewise in Scotland, by many Examples. The Prophets and ancient Jews were Strangers to absolute PASSIVE OBEDIENCE. Resisting of Arbitrary Government is allowed by many EXAMPLES in Scripture; by most Nations; and by undeniable Reason.* In the main hall of entrance to the Houses of Parliament the statue of John Somers has its place among the few that England has chosen from her wisely patriotic statesmen thus to honor.

[1] Edmund Burke's speech on Conciliation with the Colonies,

is an entry in the diary of John Adams which bespeaks that prevalent aptitude and tendency of national character. He notes, for his own guidance, "Labor to get distinct ideas of law, right, wrong, justice, equity; search for them in your own mind, in Roman, Grecian, French, English treatises of natural, civil, common, statute law. Aim at exact knowledge of the nature, end, and means of government. Compare the different forms of it with each other, and each of them with their effects on public and private happiness."[1] This was in 1759. The disposition was growing general, almost popular. It begat in a few years a revival in the study of the science of politics as taught by the master-minds of Europe. Blackstone's Commentaries became familiar to the people. The book had become so popular that the demand had to be supplied by colonial reprints; and indeed a class, like that of those private gentlemen whose attention Blackstone endeavored in vain to get in England, and which he described as "the most useful, as well as considerable body of men in the nation," were in America his most

March 22, 1775. Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*, vol. 1, p. 241, note 12, says: "Of this state of society, the great works of Kent and Story were, at a later period, the natural result."

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 62. "A lawyer, said James Otis, 'ought never to be without a volume of natural or public law, or moral philosophy, on his table, or in his pocket.' —*Life of Otis*, by Tudor, p. 10.

enthusiastic and diligent students. Burke had observed, also, — what was the truth — that, after tracts of popular devotion, in no branch of the publishers' business were so many books as those on the law imported by the Plantations. The gentlemen of the law-profession itself, at this time in the colonies, were a race of jurists, the governing influence of whose learning and wisdom will be seen in the grand labors which we purpose to set forth. They did not, as Macaulay, in his brilliant and misleading way, complains of Dr. Johnson's literary criticism, decide questions like lawyers. They decided like legislators. The men of whom we speak, always examined to the foundations, even where the point was already ruled — their opinions did not indolently repose on assumption, though they might be able to quote precedent and authority; but they gave a true reason by at least a necessary inference drawn from the nature of the thing.[1]

But we do not wish to pay special regard, just now, to any coterie or class, as such, of the colonists of this epoch. We desire to bring definitely before our contemplation the national features of the people at large, and of those men who were representatives of the form and pressure of the spirit and character of that epoch.

[1] Macaulay's *Essays*, vol. 2, p. 415, on "*Boswell's Life of Johnson.*" And see *post*, 88.

A new order of men, apt for the public life of such a revolution, and for the building of a new nationality, so it appears to us, came at this emergency into existence. They were men as great and as natural, as they seem new: arduous, energetic, patient, self-controlling, unyielding. They were not the product of the time — it was they who produced the age: its impulse and its purpose. They are to be ranked with the "chiefs of republics, who, in the birth of societies, form the institutions; and those institutions, in the sequel, form the chiefs of the republic."[1] The history of the United States of America testifies to this philosophy. Those colonists endeavored, so that the liberties which they had inherited might be sheltered from harm, guarded and defended, to unite the people of the several colonies by their common interests. The imagination of a grander idea was generated by imperious events yet in the future. Independence was not in their thoughts; nor did separation from the mother country stand "within the prospect of belief." The irresistible stream, which was to bear away the old colonial fabrics and to leave the old constitutional foundations unmoved and free for competent structures in each State, had not begun to rise.

It was not an age of, what is called, progress. It was eminently one in which existing rights

[1] Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Decadence des Romaines.*

were secured and protected. Their common interest, in which the chiefs united, was to resist all that they believed innovating and harmful. They made a stand for, and at, that which was tried and had endured. It was their immutable and inalienable inheritance. It was the birth-right of every natural subject of the English crown. That inheritance was threatened again, and had been already invaded, by the British ministry. The object of the colonists was, in the beginning, to recall and strengthen upon ancient legitimate and traditional grounds those principles of constitutional liberty; and they wished to defer, if possible avoid, all occasions for contention. They had forsaken their dear native land and their kindred to seek amid savages and rude, uncultured, physical nature, that unconstrained freedom of conscience which Europe had denied. They had, as Montesquieu observes, "grown great nations in the forest they were sent to inhabit." The very modes of thought among the colonists of English descent were of the ripest and best English cast. Their affectionate love of motherland made them call whatever spot they settled upon by a name which echoed that of an ancestral home. They were proud of their national origin, and liked to proclaim, even ostentatiously, that pride. They had, with valor and success, contested the ascendancy of France in North America, and upheld,

and extended, and fixed, the dominion of the Englishry on the Western continent. Little did they dream that in that consummation lay the security for their future independence.[1] Little did they think that in the peace with France, secured by their valor, would be found the opportunity to tax America. When, at length, the neces sity for a revolution came, the chiefs, representing truly the general opinion and needs of the colonists, did for them that only which Somers had done for the people of England. The influence of Somers' authority in the formation of American opinion was great and is manifest. Passive obedience found in this great lawyer and legislator one before the beams of whose piercing and enlightening intellect and patriotism the mists of that enervating phantom faded away forever from the English mind. Obedience sinks into servility

[1] The Earl of Chatham's "insisting on the retention of Canada — which, if it had been left in the hands of the French, might have proved an effectual check on the rebellious projects of the American colonists — in preference to the islands, which France was willing to cede to England, was, at the time, a matter of surprise to many. M. de Vergennes used to mention it, as one of the greatest political errors that had ever been committed." — *The Reminiscences of Charles Butler*, vol. 1, p. 156. By the peace of Paris, in 1763, Canada on the north, and Florida on the south, were ceded by France and Spain, respectively, to Great Britain. Soon after the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America, in 1783, these powers meant to redress the error of Chatham. See *post*, pp. 133-135.

when it ceases to respect itself. These colonists considered, besides, that allegiance was due to the king personally — not to an administration, nor to a parliament in which they had no representative. In addition to which principle the fact was that the charters had been given by the king alone to the colonies. So, they discovering no relief coming from the ministry nor from the Parliament, appeal was finally made directly to the Sovereign. The constitution of England proclaimed that he was "the fountain, the distributor, of justice," "the fountain of honor," "the arbiter of commerce," — in a word, their "king."[1] The appeal was not heeded. The king was not their king. He allowed, more likely advised, arms to be used to enforce the illegal measures of the ministry. By such conduct, in the judgment of the colonists, the king had already absolved them

[1] *Blackstone's Com.*, vol. 1, pp. 267, 272, 273. "Our word *cyning*, *king*, is common to all the existing Teutonic tongues, and we find it as far back as we can trace the English language. . . . The word *kin* we still keep in modern English with very little change of meaning. Now the word *cyning*, in its shortened form *king*, either comes straight from the substantive *cyn*, or else from a close connected adjective *cyne*, noble, just like the Latin *generosus* from *genus*, which, let me add, is the same word as our English *cyn*; . . . . as *ing* is the Teutonic patronymic, any one that chooses may thus form *cyning* from *cyn*, and make *the king not the father of his people but their offspring*." — Freeman's *Growth of the English Constitution*, pp. 55, 56; and his *Norman Conquest*, vol. 3, p. 623. "*Qui si facit injuriam, non est Rex:*" If the King does injustice he is not the King, — Bracton's *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ.*

from all personal allegiance to him. They proceeded upon analogy to the Revolution of 1688.

But behind this analogy there was the natural legitimate right of resistance to illegal measures coming from ministry or Parliament, which was the traditional faith of all these colonists of every creed and every clime. Concerning this we shall hereafter have proper occasions to illustrate more fully.[1] These men believed that there were reciprocal duties, and that the misconduct of a king may release a people. It had done this for the English, when James II. left the throne by a constructive abdication. But they indulged no disputes regarding doctrines such as the original contract between king and people, or any other speculative contrivances to account for those principles and forms of political society which have their fresh springs and controlment in the economy of natural necessity, convenience, growth, and perfection. And they, likewise, repudiated the shallow and spurious claim of passive obedience.

The great characters who really guided public affairs and led to the establishment of the American Republic were not wild and enthusiastic theorists — they sought fact and the philosophy of example whenever and wherever they moved in the mighty work which they undertook. Erratic imaginations were checked. The heat of zealots

[1] See *post*, pp. 79–93.

was chilled in the colder, clearer, drier intellectuality of those who gave shape and motion to the colonial proceedings. Such minds, calm and earnest, had no taste to masquerade and strut as Plutarch's men;[1] nor to speak a language unknown to their simple sires. It could not occur to them to new name Spring, the Floreal; nor the glorious fall of the year, with its carnival of leaves, the Fructidor. The old ways were to be their ways, as they had been those of their fathers. They clung to the constitution and laws of England as the paternal great charter of their liberties, against parliaments and kings. They never strayed into the alluring mazes of the "eternal rights of man," nor presupposed the unhistorical and unnatural doctrine of "The Social Contract." The latter was instinctively rejected as "chimerical and unsupported by reason or experience,"[2] and its pernicious influence never ran into the more decorous forms of American politics. To them liberty "was not a phrase or an hypothesis, but a living fact" in the light of which they had learned the reasonableness of restraint by prescribed law

[1] Plutarch's characters were the favorite models after which the French revolutionists of '93 fashioned themselves, and to affect to see a resemblance in other's thoughts and aspirations was an acceptable form of compliment. "You are one of Plutarch's men," was said to Napoleon, in his early years, by General Paoli.

[2] *The Rights of The British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, by James Otis, Boston, 1764.

and the efficacy of obedience.. They had learned how "a free people gladly pays obedience to those laws which its conscience has recognized as the best expression of social and political justice."[1] Such laws were theirs. Lawless and uncertain fancies are not among the lessons which the American Revolution taught Europe. The destructive *doctrinaires* of France were not the progeny of American liberty. Compare even the Girondists with the public men of the American Revolution, and the Girondists lessen in the comparison. Phocion was not more above the influence of the mob — nor the energy and discretion of William the Silent more commendable.

This steady and elevated temper attracted, at an early stage of development, the attention of the most eminent statesmen in Europe. Many of them believed, and proclaimed in the face of the world, that the colonists were right, and their resistance prudent and decorous. The resistance was acknowledged as a vindication of English liberty made by America in her own interest, but in its necessary and immediate effect, protecting Great Britain herself.[2] These characteristics of

[1] Canon Liddon.

[2] "In order to defend the attempt to destroy the liberties of America, principles were laid down which, if carried into effect, would have subverted the liberties of England. . . . . The danger was so imminent as to make the ablest defenders of popular liberty believe that everything was at stake; and that if the Americans

the revolt were indicated from its beginning in 1761. At that time its seed was sown: it was then that James Otis spoke; and though he invoked the law in vain, writs of assistance ceased to be issued. An enlightened public opinion nullified the false declaration of a false tribunal. The judgment went forth; but "without authority, and returned without respect."[1] The government were teaching the People their power. Two years after this the people of England adopted this precedent in the case of John Wilkes, and writs of assistance were judicially declared illegal, and ended in England also. These were the first fruits of the Revolution. The Stamp Act, in 1765, attempted taxation in America without representation. Public opinion, again, nullified an unconstitutional bill. The act was soon repealed by the Parliament; and, again, the People were taught their power. The liberty of the subject was revived in still another and more valuable right during this epoch. We allude to the right of trial by jury.

were vanquished, the next step would be to attack the liberties of England, and endeavor to extend to the mother country the same arbitrary government which by that time would have been established in the colonies." — Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, vol. 1, p. 482, and *note*, 373, in which he cites the opinions of Chatham, Burke, Fox, and Dr. Jebb. The last thought that the war "must be decisive of the liberties of both countries." — Disney's *Life of Jebb*, p. 92.

[1] Brougham's Speeches, — Exordium to Speech in Queen Caroline's Case.

Andrew Hamilton, the venerable leader of the Philadelphia bar, came in the year 1735 to the city of New York, and there, on the trial of Zenger, declared the principle and doctrine, that, by the common law of England, the right to trial by jury was unquestionable and indestructible. The municipality conferred its city's freedom upon the triumphant advocate. Liberty and Law, at once, confirmed the People's voice; and an era in the freedom of the Press, ever to be held in grateful remembrance in America, but especially in the British Isles, began. In making his superb forensic speech on the Dean of St. Asaph's trial, nearly half a century afterwards [1784], Erskine only repeated in a more glowing style the arguments presented by Andrew Hamilton. These two instances were great vindications of ancient rights which had been allowed to fall into neglect, and perhaps contempt, in England.

We shall have occasions to recur to these and like instances. Our present intent is fullfilled if we have shadowed forth the national temper and character, the intellectual capacity, aptitude, and disposition, of the colonists and of their chief men; their originality of wisdom derived from a practical familiarity with the needs and resources of their condition.

Within fifteen years of the time when Otis vindicated the law and liberty of England against

the incursion of writs of assistance, a war for independence had become inevitable. The infant colonies were, in three eras of growth, — the revolutionary, the confederate, the constitutional, — to mature into the Republic. July 4, 1776, came. The United Colonies, in convention, at Philadelphia, declared with one consent, in the name and by the authority of the People, that all allegiance and political connection between them and the British crown had totally ceased; and that the United Colonies assumed, as independent and free States, their place among nations as a nation.

The war to maintain that declaration of independence and nationality was fought. By years of toil and sacrifice it was won. But it did not make nor leave the United Colonies a nation; except in the presupposition which, by a sort of theory, enabled them to act as such in their first diplomatic negotiation with England.

It was on January 20, 1783, that peace was concluded. The American commissioners had loosed themselves from the surveillance of the Count de Vergennes and settled upon the preliminary conditions with the British agents in a manner creditable to the wisdom and, as then appeared, the honor of both nations. Indeed, the dislike to have France act directly or indirectly in that negotiation, guided as she then was by the ambitious Vergennes, who had ulterior views of his own to

chiefly serve, was shared by the English statesmen of all parties, as well as by the monarch himself. John Jay sympathized in this disposition of the English, from something he had heard from the French ambassador on their voyage together to Europe.[1]

Jay acted on the information received, and this inclination coincided with the purpose of Lord Shelburne, then at the head of the colonial office. Shelburne wished to secure peace, or rather a truce, independently of the French intervention. Charles James Fox was the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. To his hands, as he supposed, the negotiation properly belonged. He was ignorant of Shelburne's private, indirect, determination to take the matter into his own control, and of his secretly opening the subject to John Adams, at Amsterdam, the previous March. Fox was acting in his direct, frank, friendly way. Shelburne was aiming to deal with the States as distinctly colonies. The conduct of the States was encouraging unconsciously this project. Fox was advising that the negotiations be commenced by a recognition of the common independence of the United States. He was warm to an unusual degree, even above the customary license of Parliament. He continued to wear in the House of Commons what was beginning to be taken as the American uniform, buff

[1] *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 22.

and blue[1] — that mode which many persons still living will remember as the usual dress of Daniel Webster on occasions of professional arguments and of public significance.

It was early in 1782 that the dawn of peace began to be discernible. How could peace be negotiated? By the States in their form of confederation, or by each State for itself? It was a vital point for America. She claimed that it must proceed with the Foreign Office of Great Britain, and not with that of the colonies. The question had been anticipated by a council held by the British ministry. The way advised by Fox was not agreed to. Rockingham suddenly died. Shelburne had the control now, and the administration decided to treat with the successful States as "revolted colonies," and only with those. By this, as it was hoped, several of the colonies would be induced to continue adherents of the crown; and those others, by being apart, and their jealousies encouraged, would lapse into anarchy. The design was surely not without grounds for expectation to such as knew of the mutual strifes among the States. Benjamin Franklin was resident plenipotentiary to France, John Jay had left his mission to Spain, John Adams his at Holland, and Henry Laurens

[1] Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. 1, p. 353. Burke declined to adopt this uniform as his ordinary dress in Parliament, and did not wear it except solicited to do so.

had come especially from the United States to assist in these negotiations of peace at Paris. Hamilton was requested to go upon that special mission. He declined, for he knew that a greater duty for him was at home. The Count de Vergennes had advised these commissioners to accede to the Shelburne proposal. Those sagacious men declined to act on the weak, if not selfish counsel; and they insisted that the United States were no longer colonies, but were a free and independent nation; and to be acknowledged and treated with as a nation. A recital of the details which accompanied this discussion would not elucidate the intent of our theme.[1] But the commissioners felt that the very idea of nationality in the negotiation of a treaty was desirable and necessary. To the English, the point was one of procedure merely. Not so to the United States. The negotiation finally went on with the Office for Foreign Affairs. Those and other statesmen were not deceived. It was better policy though, just then, to act upon the apparent, rather than to insist upon the real, fact. To the exterior world the United States presented the semblance of unity. Between the States themselves it was scarcely acknowledged. The unity of the States in any national sense was an empty

[1] Vol. 3 of the *Life of Lord Shelburne* is about to be published. It should be very interesting in its history of the secret and devious policy of that minister during this period.

theory. Pride, policy, and patriotism had nerved the American commissioners to insist on the ideal. But they knew, and intelligent people in Europe knew, that the thing itself did not exist. "To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible than we already are, is hardly possible," were the words of anguish wrung from even the patience of Washington.

Far otherwise was the effect of the American Revolution upon the imagination of the people generally in Europe. It fevered into false fancies. Those people had seen feeble, distant colonies, till then unknown, vindicate rights against a power upon whose dominions the sun never sets. The combat unequal, the success determinate.

Peace had brought difficulties surpassing those of war. Those difficulties had become notorious. Even the people of Europe, of whom large numbers had emigrated on the conclusion of the peace, began to see more clearly into the actual relation which affairs bore to each other. This and other disclosures came fully to pass before John Adams, in December, 1785, presented the memorial to the Court of St. James, urging a perfect compliance with certain articles of the treaty of peace. It seemed as if by the acquisition of independence no substantial good results were to follow. The Confederation was the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to

establish justice, to insure tranquillity, and provide for the security of the nation." The epithet Union still commanded reverence, though not obedience. The public tranquillity was a portentous calm. A project for three confederate empires in America was beginning to be encouraged. Ambition was incited and nursed by the prospect of pronounced disunion. In the language of "The Federalist," "each State, yielding to the voice of immediate interest or convenience, successively withdrew its support from the Confederation, till the frail and tottering edifice was ready to fall upon our heads, and to crush us beneath its ruins." It was proclaimed, and circumstances led to the belief, that the States had each achieved its independence for itself, — that the Confederation was a league offensive and defensive, but not a government. The States were unwilling to surrender that independence, and merge their existence into a common form, wherein each would lose its individuality, as water is in water. The general government held a barren sceptre. It could plead, but not enforce. It could give judgment, but had no means to execute it. It was all head, and no arms. It could devise, but not perform. It could request the States, but not act upon the persons or property of the individual inhabitants. The State stood between the Confederation and the people. The general government had no fund, nor the power

in and by itself, to raise a fund. It had already borrowed and created public debts. They were due, and owing to domestic and foreign creditors. Yet the general government found itself without requisite authority to lay taxes, or, by imposts, to get in a revenue. The State governments solemnly declined to concede such powers, notwithstanding the pressure. A public credit of course could not exist; no sort of valid assurance could be given to pay. Commercial jealousies and contentions among the States brought fearful bodings. Domestic peace was verily in danger. The general government, unable to respond to its vicarious liabilities, became the object of positive assault. The army clamored. The soldiers did not demand money, only that some reasonably sure provision might be made for ultimate payment. Congress was unable even to give this. The States refused to aid. The officers of the army, which had gone into winter quarters, pending the negotiations of peace, were about to meet, with hostile intent, to obtain redress. The veterans felt the neglect. Their heroic sacrifices had passed into history, but not into the hearts of their countrymen. Their simple, honest understandings could not distinguish between the Confederate Congress and the controlling power of the States, so as to appreciate where the blame should not be imputed. Washington, acting on the urgent advice

of Hamilton, did not allow the proposed meeting to take place. He acted with characteristic firmness and decision, and summoned the general and field officers to assemble together, giving their consultation a regular authority and orderly appearance. They assembled on Saturday, March 15, 1783. General Gates, restored to his command in the army, as its senior officer, presided. Knox and Putnam were there. The latter had fought at Bunker Hill. Washington stood in the midst of his old companions in arms. The tableau is one of the most affecting in the history of the war. It was certainly at one of its most momentous crises. Washington had in the mean time been truly informed "that the army had recently determined not to lay down their arms until due provision and a satisfactory prospect should be afforded on the subject of their pay; . . . . and that plans had been agitated, if not formed, for subsisting themselves after such declaration." He read a prepared address. On one, and but on one, other occasion was his heart to be again so tenderly moved. He was unable to preserve his composure. Tears were obscuring his vision, and it was with difficulty he read. "Fellow-soldiers," he said, "you perceive I have not only grown gray, but blind in your service." Having finished the address he immediately withdrew, so as to leave the officers unembarrassed by his presence

in their deliberations. They declared, without dissent, that they would "still place confidence in the justice of Congress and of their country." The impending storm was subdued. Washington wrote a letter to Congress appealing to its sense of justice. The appeal was to an empty, hopelessly bankrupt treasury; to a Congress with no power to fill it; to States too jealous of a national government to make the grant. The "justice" of the country slept on, undisturbed by any emotions of gratitude; the claims of the soldiers were pushed aside, and then forgotten. The Continental Army ceased to exist. The troops returned to their poverty-stricken homes. Happy the patriot who falls upon the field of glory. Rather the death of Leonidas than the doom of Belisarius.

Washington resigned, at Annapolis, Maryland, on December 23, 1783, into the hands of the Congress, the authority which it had invested him with in 1775. He was saluted by nations as the Fabius and the Epaminondas of the age. Thebes fell with Epaminondas; but the country of Washington was to endure, despite the troubles which were now clouding down upon it. The people of America had passed through two forms and stages in the course of their governmental growth. First, the revolutionary; second, the confederate; and now the third, the constitutional, was in its development. The uses of adversity never showed

sweeter nor more prolific of good. The passions of pride and selfishness in the dissociate States were impelling them into that consolidation which they wished to escape. The parent idea of union could not be annihilated, nor its urgency be overcome. It had recurred again and again from the time when first the Colonies were planted. It was of the essence of American colonial life. The Colonies clung to it during the Revolution; fitfully and fretfully tolerated it during the Confederation. A constitution and a perfect union were among the things inevitable within the pressure of the circumstances. The Confederation had died out. In the southern States, when a blight comes over the cotton field and all seems destroyed and gone forever, the people there say, "it has died out to a stand." That, only, which is corruptible and perishable has gone: the living principle from which shall spring a new and prosperous crop has not perished. It will bloom again in renovated strength at the future season. It had but died out to a stand; and that stand was made, in the sensitive economy of nature, at the vital part where the power of renewing lay in its concentrated and imperishable energy. A beautiful analogy of Resurrection and Life.

The Confederation had, indeed, died out. The energy from which a new, a great and adequate national government was to grow, lay treasured

and secured amid that which appeared but decay and death. Hamilton intelligently awaited its earliest and expected manifestation; and then cultured it to a pristine health. The development of that parent idea of union will be related in the succeeding part of this historical study.

Without the credit of a nation abroad, without the strength of a nation at home, the work for the new Constitution was begun and accomplished. A few, a very few, hopeful, earnest, and able men brought the blessing of good and national government upon the country. The general Convention at Philadelphia, September 17, 1787, had fulfilled its trust, and proposed for acceptance a constitution of government for the States. The following are its introductory words: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America." Hamilton is the author of that declaratory preface.

Washington had presided at that general Convention. His patriotism again strengthened the hearts and hope of those who wished well to the new system for a union. It was to the character of Washington, as it ever had been since

the efforts for independence and a republican form of government began, that the Nationalists turned when the cause of the Union grew weak. The country had no other single thing which was so sure to hold the confidence of all, and in whose presence passions subsided and jealous interests felt that they were safe. To be sure, there were other men. The men, whose talents and wisdom Chatham had compared to the choicest instances in history, had not all retired from public life. The places of those who had retired were filled by new men whose names were to become alike illustrious. Hamilton and Madison were of the latter. The political heavens were certainly aglow with lights throughout its widest space; but each led its own host, and was conspicuous as the leader of a particular constellation. Washington stood alone; less brilliant than others, but ever fixed in his place. The brightest stars are not the safest guide — the north star guides though others lead astray.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDER OF EMPIRE.

CHAPTER III.

INTRODUCTORY:

OF THE FOUNDER OF EMPIRE.

An experiment of a new form of government, unknown to the science of politics, was to be tried in a new land and under new social conditions. Afar, alike, from the influence and pressure of unrepublican systems, with over three thousand miles of stormy seas rolling between America and Europe, the new experiment was to take its own unembarrassed way. Those who ardently wished its success, and strove to ensure success, had reason not to expect it. They did not conceal their fears. The problem involved an expedient by which two governments might each be distinctively supreme within the same territory and over the same people. The proposition seemed a paradox; but the man who "divined Europe" had discovered a plan, in accord with a true republican system, by which the idea could be brought into practice, and such a duality work out the functions of good government within those novel circumstances of conflicting interests and prejudices The "democratie" was to be placed under a republic.

The general government of the Confederation needed an inherently permanent capability to get means for its own support; authority to regulate commerce between the States and with foreign countries; to be strengthened throughout all its parts; to have an executive chief, and to be enabled to enforce performance of its legitimate mandates by due process of law. These powers were not simply convenient, but were found necessary to the continuance of the general government. This was not controvertible. Great barriers were in the path, and those barriers had first to be removed or reconciled before anything like a national Congress could be allowed the required authority. It was evident to some that, while the Articles of Confederation continued in existence, the authority would not be conceded by the States. Historical prejudices and the selfishness of local interests were against such concessions. Traditional dread of centralized government; traditional dread of a hereditary aristocracy; dread that a national legislature, if allowed full authority, might assert and act upon the repudiated doctrine of an omnipotence of Parliament; dread that a supreme general government might absorb, or even usurp in the guise of the public welfare, those local interests which the States were now able to maintain, and which the Confederation was meant to protect: — the concurrence of these several

causes contributed to bring out the ever recurring opposition to any measure for increasing the powers of the Congress; especially, whenever the measure proceeded from the Congress itself. The successful, conclusive proposition, which, so far as the States were in the beginning concerned, conducted, by unpremeditated steps, to the formation of a new form of government, was, in the end, to come, as we shall see, from the States themselves: though grudgingly and tardily. The nature and the history of those elementary impediments to a national union are interesting, and are, also, valuable to our purpose, as they will disclose the spirit which had to be disciplined, subdued, and conciliated.

Many of the colonies in North America had a traditional dread of centralized government. They liked to dwell apart and for themselves. Encompassing danger impelled them to gather together; they adhered to the common cause while the danger pressed upon them, and after fell back as they were before.

The initiatory immigration into Virginia came out of a patriotic party in England, and was like an offering by the genius of English liberty, which may not have safely been risked at home, in the age of Elizabeth.[1] The descendants, and many

[1] A searching, full, and accurate history of the several colonial foundations in America, is contained in the first volume, recently

other successors of those early immigrants, preserved and fostered their ancestral political bent. Huguenots composed the first body of men who came to America to find permanent habitations. Spaniards had destroyed their colony. A bold English attempt had been made by Sir Walter Raleigh and his adventurous consociates to rival the Spaniards in planting colonies in America. The salubrity of the climate, the richness of the soil, the lovely and superb nature of the varied land quickly caught their approving sense. Though Raleigh's attempts came to naught, his brilliant example encouraged others to prosperous undertakings. It is curious to reflect how his zeal against the extension of Spanish dominion was, at length, to furnish an excuse for, though not the immediate cause of, his own violent death Huguenots continued, at different times, to take refuge, in great numbers, throughout many of the colonies, and their fearful anxiety fused with the anxiety of all others adverse to the doctrines tending to centralization.

Hollanders had settled (1629–1635) in that region of country which became, under the English, the Province of New York; and the City of New

published, of the *Popular History of the United States*, written by William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay. It satisfactorily fills an important place too long vacant in our standard literature.

Amsterdam arose upon the island of Manhattan where the confluent waters of two beneficent rivers pour their deep and full stream toward the ocean. The chief island of its magnificent bays kept in the memory, by its name of "The Staaten Island," a durable memorial of the fatherland; and, by the names which they gave to villages, these colonists indulged their filial love in a more special degree by such titles as New Dorp, and by calling the estuary that divides the island from the main shore the Kill von Kull; and, likewise, where up the river its waters expand into the broader Tappan Zee. Along the banks and through the valleys of the Hudson, and those of the Delaware, and of other regions within those territories now known as Pennsylvania and New Jersey went the sturdy pioneers from the lowlands of the German Ocean. Throughout New York the Dutchman was still conspicuously active in promoting public affairs, of weight in counsel, and prominent in its high places of renown and honor, at the time when the Constitution for the new nation was about to be laid, in the summer of 1788, before the Convention to be held at Poughkeepsie.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October, 1685) set a strong current of Huguenot immigration into the Province of New York, and the town of New Rochelle, the Huguenot Park, and the peculiar Huguenot burial places in Westches

ter County, together with the patronymics of many of its principal inhabitants and public men, bespeak the prevalence in that part of the province of a portion of the half million of people who were driven by the Edict from their native France, and who found open hospitable arms and permanent homes in the Electorate of Brandenberg and among the new plantations of the Western Hemisphere. These Dutch and Huguenots were of daring, enduring spirit and of stubborn material; hard to shape and to render capable of entertaining schemes for a "solid union." These men were of an impassioned nature not to be violently encountered in matters concerning government in church or in state; not to be reasoned with on those matters, for their opinions were colored and shaded in a resistful atmosphere of prejudice arising from sufferings and passions. Interest intensified and upheld that prejudice; and greater interest only could meet and disperse it. Tales and memories of what had been done by Philip II. and by Louis XIV. were of a kind not likely to prepare the mind of either Hollander or Huguenot to accept as true the assertion that strength in centralized authority was beneficial to the people. This temper gained strength and increase from the influence of the body of immigrants which came from Sweden, and in April, 1638, settled upon the banks of the Delaware River. The teachings of

Gustavus Adolphus, already sanctified to them by his death at the battle of Lutzen, warmed their principles and nerved their hearts. The pitcher had been broken,[1] but the well from which were drawn freshening drafts was not dry at its abundant source. Ambition was not wanting to the purposes of the Swedish king. He fostered the hope that a colony of Swedes should take a place among those nationalities which were peopling "the new promised land;" extending Swedish dominion, and opening an asylum there for such of his countrymen as were wearied and broken by the earlier struggles of that most disastrous of wars which for thirty years exhausted the energies of Germany. Oxenstiern was mindful of this ambitious intention of his dead friend and king, and organized and sent forth the emigrants who came to the Delaware. They thrived and grew and strengthened, until their individuality, like that of others, became mixed in with those flooding waves of various popular immigrations, almost effacing the distinctive lines which once strongly marked the land, and which, embracing all together, compose the agglomerate people which were at length brought under the government of the new Republic.

[1] Gustavus Adolphus loved to use homely proverbs. That most familiar with him was: "The pitcher goes often to the well, but it is broken at last."

The Puritans, more conspicuously those of the Colony of Massachusetts, had grown more and more averse to consolidated governmental power, no matter where it was lodged. Sir Henry Vane, when governor of that colony, could not induce them to inaugurate any "home rule" which combined with it an aristocratic element. Several English peers offered, if the General Council of Massachusetts was divided into two chambers, to take seats there, by their own hereditary right, and make a common government with the Puritans for the ancient colony. The dislike of those colonists was not to the aristocracy as a political estate: the dislike was to its continuous and hereditary character. Puritans were not opposed to social and political gradations in the state. Their sublime poet declares in his grand harmonious numbers that

> "orders and degrees
> Jar not with liberty, but well consist."[1]

A supplementary suggestion followed this made by Vane, to the purport, that, if the nobles were to lessen their estate to simply a life-tenure, its hereditary character then being gone, the offer might be considered. The effect of this scheme was to limit the tenure of all kinds of public offices in New England to very short periods. The inconveniences and expense of frequent elections were es-

[1] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book v., 792, 793.

teemed as nothing in comparison with the sense of security which resulted. This feeling has never departed from the people of America. Their confidence in the character of Washington and affectionate respect for his patriotism and public services reconciled them as to him, but as to him alone, when he was reëlected, and when it was proposed to elect him for a third term.[1] Jefferson looked upon the Constitution as radically defective in not prohibiting the reëlection of the same person to the presidency. Hamilton believed that the continuity of the same person in the highest executive national office would give a needed stability to the administration of government, and be more in accord with the principles of a republican form, and as commended by its most approved and illustrious instances. The Republic of Uri was such an instance.

"A church without a bishop — a state without a king," was the thought underlying all their political, social, and religious philosophy and action. Edmund Burke, when remarking that these people were Protestants, in his speech on Conciliation with America, says, they are "of that which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. I do not think that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches, from all that looks like absolute government, is so much

[1] Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, page 395.

to be sought in their religious tenets, as in their history." Indeed, during the revolutionary and confederative periods there was no executive chief to the general government. It was a league of States and a people without a common executive head. This deep-seated conviction, that any hereditary rank and political estate, in which power and privilege may lodge, or secrete, were essentially inimical to the continuance of the liberty of the people, had, in a most violent manner, quite recently shown itself. The "Society of the Cincinnati" was organized in May, 1783, just after the close of the war. The officers of the disbanded army intended by it to keep alive, consecrate, and perpetuate the memory of sacrifices made and friendships perfected during that war. The honor of membership was to be hereditary and to descend to the heir as a cherished loom. Washington had consented to be its President. Now came down upon the society a storm of alarm, indignation and abuse, which did not spare even Washington. He and his fellow veterans in arms were innocent of any cause for offense. It was the incident of membership being hereditary that had aroused the dormant old prejudice. The society was stigmatized as a subtle design to introduce an aristocracy, subvert the republic, and institute a monarchy. Few occurrences had ever so excited violent passion; voices, private pamphlets, and the

public press, all at once, denounced the society as a public enemy. Mirabeau thought the occasion so important that he entered into the conflict, and published in England a pamphlet on the subject of hereditary nobility, which he had in great part prepared at Paris before he left there in August, 1785.[1] It was full of eloquent condemnation, and had so much the approbation of Franklin that Mirabeau bore a letter from him, dated at Passey, to his friend Mr. Vaughan, commending the Count to the civilities and counsel of that gentleman, respecting the printing of the pamphlet in London, as it could not be printed in France.

The Congress of the Confederation was a single body; and, so, it was looked upon as neither a provident nor a safe custodian of supreme authority over sovereign States. It was best for the nation and for the States, many thought, that such single bodies should remain advisory councils. Besides this, the omnipotence of Parliament had become an intolerable doctrine to the people of America. "It had done its work and outlived its usefulness."[2] The principles of the Revolution of 1688 continued ever dear to them; but the domineering height to which the supremacy of legislative power had ascended in England since 1688,

[1] *Memoirs of Mirabeau*, by Himself, vol. 4, pages 133–139.

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 10, page 39.

far beyond a reasonable, prudent, and beneficent use, seemed a warning not to permit a like source of aggressive authority to be gained by the Congress. Blackstone's "Commentaries" had been widely read. It was known how rapid and luxuriant was the growth of delegated power. "I have been told by an eminent bookseller," said Edmund Burke to the House of Commons, March 22, 1775, "that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of 'Blackstone's Commentaries' in America as in England." These Commentaries amplify and affirm the opinion of Sir Edward Coke, that the power and jurisdiction of Parliament is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds. "It has sovereign and uncontrollable authority, ... this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is intrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations, and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the succession to the Crown, as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and Wil-

liam III. It can alter the established religion of the land, as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves. It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible; and, therefore, some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament. True it is, that what the Parliament does no authority upon earth can undo. . . . It was a known apophthegm of the great Treasurer Burleigh, 'That England could never be ruined but by a Parliament;' and Sir Matthew Hale observes, this being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should in any way fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy. . . . . So long, therefore, as the English Constitution lasts, we may venture to affirm, that the power of Parliament is absolute and without control."[1] Whether this comment by Blackstone professes too much or not, is little to the purpose of our present inquiry. It was the doctrine taught by the most popular authoritative elementary law-writer of England; uttered by him to the rising generation of students in the University of Oxford, and to the nobility

[1] Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. I, pp. 161–162.

and gentlemen of England, as late as 1758; and the colonists naturally accepted it as an exposition of the true nature of legislative power, when placed in any assembly with sovereign authority; and it was the doctrine solemnly and ostentatiously proclaimed and acted upon by parliaments whose acts immediately preceded and necessitated the final declaration of independence and separation from Great Britain. Yet, in the English legislative plan checks and balances prevail. That mitigating feature did not exist in the Congress of the Confederation. The colonists were opposed to all kinds of unchecked and sovereign power, no matter where it was lodged; whether in a many-headed commonwealth, in a confederation of states, or in a monarch. They reflected upon the fact, also, that, in 1648, the House of Commons had asserted its independence of the Upper House; determined to act as sitting in Parliament for their own behoof only, and as representing the community at large; and resolved "that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, have the supreme authority of the nation." The Commons thenceforth styled themselves, "The Parliament," and became the unrestrainable masters of the state.[1] The two Houses of Parliament were at this epoch "invested with unlimited power, determin-

[1] Brodie's *Constitutional History of the British Empire*, vol. 3, pp. 319–320.

able only at their own pleasure; and, in short, were, in their aggregate capacity, clothed with all the authority of absolute monarchy. Invested with all the legislative power, and entitled to appoint all public officers, they had a natural tendency to advance their own greatness to the prejudice of the people, as well as to multiply jobs and places, that they might enrich and exalt themselves at the public expense. . . . . Such was the natural tendency of this state of affairs; and it is no answer to the objections, that the English Parliament at that time contained a number of patriots, who were prepared to make great personal sacrifices for the public benefit, since an institution must not be appreciated by the integrity of particular men; and this assembly, with all its virtue, had neither escaped the imputation of selfishness, nor the consequences of the system."[1] So it came to pass that these colonists had been by experience and by the philosophy of history educated to the principle not to trust their own affairs beyond their own immediate control. Federal and national legislative bodies, whether composed of two branches, each a check upon the undue acts of the other, or a single assembly unbalanced by a corresponding weight, were equally unacceptable to them.

Then there was the unformed apparition of the

[1] Brodie's *Constitutional History of the British Empire*, vol. 3, p. 159.

public debt affrighting a nation of insolvents with dreadful forebodings, and driving them into dishonesty. A power to tax was, they likewise knew, a power to destroy. Their sources of wealth were many and abundant; "in proportion to their number, more opulent than the people of France;"[1] but their industries and trade were disorganized. The war had been carried on by the States independently of each other in several respects; the debts incurred in its course were incurred in part by the States, in part by the Congress. The States had become liable directly to creditors and retained the claims unliquidated against the Confederation for any balance which might appear on the final accounting. But how and when to pay that balance, or any other claim, foreign or domestic, always excited nothing but contentious debate. On this subject two great parties were forming already in every State at the time when the convention to consider of a new form of government was proposed. They were distinctly marked; pursued distinct objects, with systematic arrangement.[2]

Such were the temper and character of the people of America, at that eventful epoch, — the eve of the constitutional era. Any new form of government for the whole of the States in unity had

[1] Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.*, vol. 10, p. 173.

[2] Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 103.

to encounter and conciliate that temper and character, and prejudices traditional and deep down in the heart. These, first, had to be removed, that the other might be established; and this could be accomplished only when the need of a new government began to be felt by the people.

There was another and more comprehensive necessity which any project for a new effective government would have to insist upon. An amendment of the Articles of Confederation would not answer the public need. The vice was radical. A new system of government was the thing desired. It was a subject not to be mentioned just yet; but other minds began to see what Hamilton saw in 1780 and of which he wrote to Duane. The idea would grow fruitfully if not forced. If able men could be brought together, in sessions not public, that object would, by candid, intelligent debate, develop itself into a conviction. A convention to consider of amendments to be proposed to the Articles of Confederation, might end, perchance, in the proposal of a new Constitution and organization of government. This was to come in time. Those who were now congratulating each other in successful efforts to thwart Congress in its measures, were unconsciously making inevitable the chief thing they abhorred. To be sure the danger to liberty that lies in a supreme authority when it is placed in a single political body of

men was an abstract principle not entirely discernible by the people at large; it did not enter into the prominent, active, and popular opposition to Congress. This danger, notwithstanding, was ever present to a few such men as Hamilton, and clearly indicated to them how futile and hazardous a mere amendment of the existing form of government would be. Though the refusals of the States were, at the time, lamented by good citizens friendly to an increase of the federal authority for its own national dignity and honest purpose, yet, before a long time had passed over their heads it was esteemed fortunate, as Chancellor Kent has said, "that all the authority of a nation, in one complicated mass of jurisdiction, was not vested in a single body of men, and that Congress, as then constituted, was a most unfit and unsafe depository of political power."

The attempts made before this one of 1787 to bring the colonies into a union for the national purposes of government had each failed of any permanent results. Let us consider the lessons taught by these several and independent attempts. They will teach us how much peoples and kingdoms are indebted to adverse surrounding pressure for their prosperity and even national existence. Generally, by such immediate pressure of hostile assault or apprehended danger, requiring a defensive and offensive league for common protection, three

leagues were, at distant periods, formed; and they went each to pieces when the danger was gone by. That of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, in 1643, was entered into in view of attacks from contiguous Indian tribes, and as a protection from encroachments from the Dutch colony. That league is known in history as the United Colonies of New England. The management of its common affairs was entrusted to commissioners, each colony having two; but no executive power was conferred upon the commission. It was to consult and recommend merely. This combination is to be regarded as the very root of the series of like efforts towards a union which followed. It lasted, with a few amendments in its articles of compact, for more than forty years. England looked with friendly disposition upon it, and it was dissolved only when, in 1686, the old charters of the New England colonies were superseded by the commission of James II. Congresses of Governors and Commissioners on behalf of other colonies as well as on behalf of those of New England, met, after that dissolution, to provide means to guard the frontiers of their interior boundaries. One of these Congresses met at Albany, in the Province of New York, in 1722; but another, which was of great importance in its consequences, and in its influence upon the minds of thoughtful men, was

held there in 1754. The object of the assembly was a bold, comprehensive, and well defined project for a continental union. Its urgent occasion was to defend those American colonists in the war with France which at that moment was at hand. Its project for a union was, nevertheless, rejected. The sagacious Benjamin Franklin was one of the members who were the authors of that proposed form for a union; and many of the most eminent inhabitants of the colonies assisted in the deliberations. Thoughts were there liberated and freely discussed which led to ideas that prepared the way for the future. While those discussions manifested a lively jealousy of the power and blandishments of royal associations, the general feeling was more conspicuously marked by a filial respect for English principles of government. These colonists, indeed, were emulating each other in duteous obeisance to their mother country. But a strong tide of local policy, ambition, and rival colonial interests submerged those and all other considerations, and became more intense than before. Franklin said, in 1750, that loyal sentiments were so thoroughly in the hearts of the people that a union against England was absolutely impossible; or, at least, without being forced by the most grievous tyranny and oppression. This feeling, though impaired, did not die out even during the Revolution, but lingered until the measures of the Shelburne ad-

ministration, succeeding the Peace at Paris of 1783, quenched it out for a long season. So failed the original attempt at a "Continental" Congress. The ideas, however, brought away from that consultation were beginning the work of the ultimate independence of America; and the one thing which Franklin imagined might possibly force the colonies into such a union was now developing. This thing was the claim of the British Parliament to tax America without representation. The omnipotence of Parliament was displayed. The right to tax was boastingly and offensively proclaimed. The attempt to enforce it by military aid aroused the colonists. Then a Congress of delegates came from nine of the colonies and, in October, 1765, met together in New York. A bill of rights was set forth in which the exclusive power of taxation was resolved to abide in their own several legislatures. Thus the road was aclearing for that more general and extensive association of the colonies which followed in September, 1774. This was the assembly since known as the first "Congress." Temperate and intelligent in all its proceedings, it commanded the attention and admiration of the enlightened world. Its conciliatory tone toward the English government and its intelligible characteredposition, claiming and demanding for the colonists the rights and liberties of English freemen, were most prominent and observed. It was

hard to break the tie which held their hearts rather than their political allegiance. They ever spoke in the spirit of the British Constitution. Their declaratory resolutions asserted the inalienable immunities common as a birthright to all natural subjects of the crown; they specified the plan of violent measures which was preparing against those immunities, and they bound their constituents by the most sacred bonds of honor and of country to renounce commerce with Great Britain; that being, in their judgment, the better means whereby to secure the blessings of the former, and to arrest the assaults of the other. It was in this step that the epoch of the Revolution began; and thus commenced the foundation for the continental union of the colonies. The epithet came into popular use by this time that people were thinking "continentally." Again, in May, 1775, another Congress, in like mood and with similar purpose, met at Philadelphia. Invested with ample discretionary powers, it unmistakably indicated the courage and fixed purpose which prevailed. In truth, the war for independence had begun. Washington was at the head of the Continental army. He was soon to be proclaimed Dictator. The history of the war itself has slight bearing on our special theme.

It was not until December 15, 1777, that Congress could reconcile and unite the wary and de-

centralizing tendencies of the thirteen political communities into the agreement which is expressed by the Articles of Confederation. Those articles were submitted to the legislatures of the several communities; declared to be the result of present and overwhelming necessity; of a wish for reconciliation; and that they were concurred in as the best that could be attained; and not for any intrinsic excellence. The States came slowly in. One State, but only on condition, rejected the plan. The retentive power of local interests and local ambition did not freely provide even when the sea of trouble was rising near and strong.

The government of the Confederation began; that of the Revolution was superseded. The "discretionary powers" had been often used by it; but under the new Confederation those powers were rapidly abridged, and Congress lessened into an inefficient council of advice, generally unheeded and ever powerless. A sense of incapacity became habitual, for Congress was mastered and nullified by the States; sometimes by a single State. A repudiated public debt, the continued presence of the armed foe after the terms of peace had been concluded, hostile measures directly affecting injuriously the industries and trade of the States: these adversities were to be the indirect forces by which "a solid republican government" was to be expressed. The efficacious pressure, as from the

first, in 1643, it had been, came once more from unfriendly foreign sources, and so induced a successful proposal for a union to proceed now from some States to Congress and again unsuccessfully from it to the States. The future Republic was truly sown in weakness, to be raised in power.

To Alexander Hamilton history traces that parent thought which made the institution of "a solid republican government," for national objects, possible. It was not a repairing and strengthening and expansion of the Confederation. A new system of government was to be set up and to be declared as established "forever." The expedient had never before been tried or heard of, so far as historians to the present time have been able to discover. It is said by publicists, that the history of the philosophy of politics from Aristotle down, shows no precedent or practical suggestion for the contrivance. All preceding associations of republics, or of democratic States, were simply leagues. The quality peculiar to the idea that a duality of governments was adaptable to the States independently, and, also to a consolidated union of them, must be accepted as the invention of Hamilton's creative mind.

This idea was to bring about an era in the science of statehousehold applicable to a republican form of government. We prefer to use, in the like sense to which we are accustomed to the term

political economy, that other composite word, itself of German descent, "state household:" an image clearly bodying forth the source, the direction, and proper objects of municipal communities and of nations. The phrase acknowledges the "State" to be naturally an extension and amplification of the domestic household, and that all legitimate and natural government springs from its primal fountain, the family. It rises from families to communities, from villages to nations. As the members of a family have their relative duties to the family, so has each member, as a citizen, relative duties to the state to which he owes a natural or a local allegiance. In the first condition they constitute in their natural domestic group the family; in the latter they constitute the state. The family was in order of time before the state, and the state is a combination of fathers and masters for the better protection of themselves and families. Reason points to this as the probable origin of political communities, and history attests the fact of such origin. Like as the members of the family regard its chief and husband, *domus vinculum*,[1] so does the individual citizen in his

[1] Although this etymology of the title husband may be specious, yet it presents to the understanding a most suggestive and beautiful image; and as it has the authority of Spelman, and Francis Junius acknowledges it "sufficiently specious," the writer thinks he is free to use the epithet in that sense.

The name of Francis Junius suggests one other Francis and

public capacity look to the state, though himself an essential constituent of it, as a supreme law

"Junius." This is, we confess, aside from the direct way we are going; but let us loiter a moment and take a glimpse into the attractive by-path. Perhaps it is one not more curious, and even less fanciful, than some which have engaged the searching skill of intelligent minds in the same pursuit of discovering clews which might lead to the detection of the famous writer, obscured in the shade of another's name. *Stat nominis umbra.* Lucan's meaning — from which poet the celebrated motto was taken — is: "he (Pompey) stands the shadow of a (great) name." Did Sir Philip Francis (assuming him to be accepted now generally as the author of "The Letters") venture so far as to hazard his detection by thus indicating that he, "Junius," was the son of Francis? Though the eminent critic's book was not popularly known in England, yet the very title to the most valued of the works of Francis Junius reads, "*Franciscii Junii; Francisci Filii; Etymologicon Anglicanum.*" Is it a mere coincidence, or was the daring author with all his prudent circumspection, tempted, by the allurement of the device, toward the confines of exposure? Francis Junius was a man of vast classical erudition, and a great traveller, a friend of Grotius, Salmasius, Vossius (his brother-in-law), and Archbishop Usher. He was born at Heidelberg about 1589; in 1630 he went to England; died in his 85th or 86th year (1678) at Windsor, and was buried there. The University of Oxford, to which he bequeathed his manuscripts and books, out of gratitude, caused a Latin inscription to be placed over his tomb (*Preface to Phillimore's translation of Lessing's Laocoon*). The works of Junius were highly estimated by philologists in the times of George II. and of George III., and his volume on the *Art of Painting among the Ancients*, made him known to those who specially cultivated a taste for ancient literature. Such a scholar was the father of Sir Philip Francis. It is no strain upon belief to infer that Philip Francis, senior, the translator of "Horace," "Demosthenes," and "Eschines," author of the tragedies of the *Eugenia* and of *Constantine*, and of several political pamphlets, was quite familiar with these writings of Francis Junius; and that his brilliantly gifted son was nurtured in an

and civil governance. Herein we have, not only the special and local government within a family and limited to own affairs, but we have a general government comprehending and pervading throughout, all at once, the grand aggregate, supreme in its unity and in its universality; each a government bearing directly upon the individual. Herein arises the feasible and practicable system for a duality of government over the same territory and over the same people. In it we can see the first original of the principle which Hamilton had divined and which he was to apply to the several States in their independent operation and scope, and to the same States in Empire. He saw the consequent while it was yet dormant in principle, and he called it into existence and organization. Governmental institutions are not made; they are a growth, and derive their nurture, character, and strength from the ground which bears them.[1]

intellectual atmosphere filled with refined learning, esthetic exercises, and spirited political dialectics. When that son, in the course of his political career, desired to shroud himself in a cloud of impersonal authorship, it would be natural for him to seek it in the shadow of a name great to him and associated with the cherished remembrance of his paternal home. All of this is digression, however; but not farther away than one on another circumstance of the same enticing topic to be found in a note to pages 87, 88, in the fourth volume of Macaulay's *History of England.*

[1] God, "who created man, created in him, and with him, the rudiments of that government which is necessary for the simplest form of society. In the extension and enlargement of society, men are thrown more upon their own resources for the expedients of

This idea of Hamilton first appears in a letter written by him to James Duane, an eminent member from New York, in the Continental Congress. It is dated September 3, 1780. The expedient was matured, and the letter was written, by Hamilton amid the stir of active war and "in the tented field." It contained, also, what is generally conceded to be, the very first project uttered in America to found a national government by "a solid coercive union." Hamilton was then twenty-three years old. The previous year, likewise in camp, while the army was in winter quarters, he had conceived and perfected a mode by which public credit might be restored, and a change in the whole administration of public affairs effected. This he anonymously sent to Robert Morris, the financier of the government. These letters are notable, for in them we get at the *principia* of Hamilton's scheme for a republican form of a general government and of his process of finance; each of which was destined to prevail and, for weal or woe, to

government; and in respect to these, God no otherwise ordains than as His overruling Providence directs. Families and tribes combine themselves into one nation under a single head, or they vest the supreme power in the hands of the few or the many; and hence the monarch, hereditary or elective, the oligarchy, the democracy, etc., all which are the effects of human contrivance. But government, in its original or elementary form (which is patriarchal), is the more immediate operation of the Divine wisdom, and is stamped on Nature by the Divine decree." — Samuel Seabury, D. D., on the *General Divisions of Society*, p. 74.

control American affairs in the near and, again by revival, in the distant future. — To be stigmatized, when Jefferson was in the ascendant, as inimical to the existence of the government; to be overborne in its chief feature, a national bank, by the executive daring of Jackson; and to revive in each phase, with domineering spirit, and with full amplitude of sway, under the administration of Lincoln. "A virtue cannot really die. It may indeed be neglected, forgotten, depreciated, denounced; but it cannot be absolutely extinguished by the verdict whether of a school of thought, or of a country, or of an age, or of an entire civilization. If, indeed, it be a virtue at all; if it ever deserved the name; if it was ever more than a strictly relative form of excellence; then, assuredly, it is an imperishable force."[1]

It is likewise notable that whether this youth sent forth his thoughts on these grand themes with his proper name or anonymously, they received ready attention from the ablest and most experienced statesmen of that time. The maturity and perfection of the very mechanism of these projects, which distinguish them from the day-dreams of speculative philosophy, appear incredible as the product of one so young. But, be it remembered, he was already known as Washington's "principal and most confidential aid."

[1] Canon Liddon's Sermon on "The Law of Progress."

Hamilton, in that letter to Duane, enlarges upon the defects in the Confederation of the States and suggests the practical remedies. The fundamental, thorough imperfection, and the absence of inherent vitality, we have seen. The remedies which he proposed were two: That the Congress of the Confederation should resume and exercise "the discretionary powers" which he believed to have been originally vested in it for the safety of the state. The other; that Congress call immediately a Convention of all the States, with full authority to conclude finally upon a General Confederation, carefully stating beforehand, explicitly, the evils arising from a want of power in Congress, and the impossibility of supporting the contest as things are; and this to the end that the delegates may come, possessed of proper sentiments, as well as proper authority, to give efficacy to the meeting; that their commission should include a right of vesting Congress with the whole, or a proportion, of the unoccupied lands to be used as a means of raising a revenue; but allowing the political jurisdiction over those lands to remain in the States. He confessed that the first remedy would be thought by Congress too bold. The habit into which Congress had fallen impressed too deeply into it a sense of its want of power. From disuse the existence of the power itself came to be denied.

Hamilton had always been of the opinion that

the National Government was of undefined powers; that such "are discretionary powers, limited only by the object for which they were given: in the present case the independence and freedom of America;" that "the sovereignty and independence of the people began in a federal act: — The Declaration of Independence was the fundamental Constitution of every State;" and that "the Union originally had a complete sovereignty" and "its constitutional powers not controllable by any State." Therefore, his first suggestion was that Congress should resume and exercise, without further concessions from the States, these "discretionary powers."[1]

[1] "In the interpretation of laws it is admitted to be a good rule to resort to the co-existing circumstances, and collect from thence the intention of the framers of the law. Let us apply this rule to the present case. In the commencement of the Revolution delegates were sent to meet in Congress with large discretionary powers. In short, generally speaking, with full power 'to take care of the republic.' In the whole of this transaction the idea of a union of the colonies was carefully held up. It pervaded all our public acts. In the Declaration of Independence we find it continued and confirmed. . . . . A government may exist without any formal organization or precise definition of its powers. However improper it might have been, that the Federal Government should have continued to exist with such absolute and undefined authority, this does not militate against the position that it did possess such authority. It only proves the propriety of a more regular formation to ascertain its limits. This was the object of the present Confederation, which is, in fact, an abridgment of the original sovereignty of Union." — Hamilton's *Works*, vol. 2, p. 353.

The scheme of government, and the scope of its necessary and convenient authority, as therein pointed out, had the maturing approval of his judgment during life, and, as we shall see, were ever the controlling merits of all measures for which he afterwards contended. "Civil power," he reiterated, "properly organized and exerted, is capable of diffusing its force to a very great extent, and can, in a manner, reproduce itself in every part of a great empire, by a judicious arrangement of subordinate institutions." The political history of the government of the United States, "in empire," during and, especially, subsequently to the war for the union, make clear and manifest the inexorable logic of this proposition.

The letter to Duane brought once more, but by a well defined, intelligible scheme, a project for a more perfect union before many men in authority. Conventions had been called and held. Nothing, as usual, could be effected by them. In January, 1780, one was convened at Philadelphia in the hope that power would be delegated to Congress to lay and collect if only a revenue. The New England States, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were represented; but not New York. Its governor, George Clinton, did not approve of it. The convention adjourned to February to await New York to meet other States; then further adjourned to April, when another

call was made for a meeting in August; and then in August, the only States that appeared were Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The subject was ceasing to be interesting. The supplications of Washington and of Congress were falling on heedless and hostile dispositions. But, notwithstanding the discouragements, wise and instructive resolutions and addresses were issued from these conventions. Those words were, indeed, things. The education of the people, by several means, was going on. Hamilton, abating no jot of hope and heart, caught at all these symptoms of a tendency towards effective union and adequate government; helped to warm them into life-giving influence, and to spread them over the land. His pen was constantly busy, and during 1781–82 he published "The Continentalist," in which he discussed, in his usual clear, full, and deliberative style, the state of public concerns and the remedies. On Tuesday, July 21, 1783, the legislature of the State of New York passed a resolution for a General Convention of the States. It had been drafted by Hamilton.[1] He, with four of the most eminent citizens of that State, were appointed, in pursuance thereof, delegates to represent the State in the United States Congress for the ensuing year. But nothing practical came of it. Listlessness was settling down upon the

[1] Hamilton's *Works*, vol. 2, p. 203.

hopes and fears of the people. With the dawn of peace they sank to be more and more dormant. The anxious solicitude, reasonably elicited by the condition of public interests, went little beyond the leading statesmen, and those more intelligent citizens sensitive to national honor.

January 1, 1783, Congress again issued an address to the States. It most earnestly set forth the facts and the urgent need of action. The facts and need were admitted to be as stated. But, argued those in opposition, good reasons must give place to better reasons; the individual interest of a State is to be esteemed of primal and higher obligation. Citizens were, as we already mentioned, taking sides on the question, and the two parties began to gather and to take form. One body attached itself, as first in order of duties, to the State government, viewed all the functions of Congress with fear, and assented reluctantly to any measure which would enable that "head to act, in any respect, independently of its members." With a morbid candor they declared the real truth. The members, in a reversed order of nature, controlled and directed the head. The other party fondly contemplated America as a nation; labored without ceasing to empower it with a national authority and force; felt the value of national honor and of national faith; and were persuaded that both were jeopardized, if the secur-

ity and payment of the national debts, incurred in the war and for the independence of the nation, were now to be left, at the advent of peace, to the concurrence of the thirteen disjected States. The officers of the army, who by associating with each other, away from local influences, and whose experience had given them bitter proofs not soon to be forgotten, sympathized with the national party. The states party was more numerous and powerful. The connections between a State and its own immediate citizens are ever more intimate and tangible than any possible with a general government. It is only and simply by a mental operation that the mind can get near to an appreciation of such a general sort of government, existing only in contemplation and as a maxim. It was neither seen nor felt. It was not capable of acting upon the inhabitants of a community, and not coming, like the state, in daily contact with them.

It was while this Congress of 1783 was endeavoring to reach some practicable conclusion that peace was made at Paris. Sensible that the character of the government may be fixed definitely by the measures which should directly follow the treaty of peace, citizens of the very first political talents and high social reputation sought places in this Congress. With unwearied perseverance, and despite of all former failures and the absence of encouragement, they digested what they concluded

to be a feasible project, which obtained the approval of Congress. The main object in its view was, of course, the, now more than ever, immediate and overwhelming one, "to restore and support public credit;" and, that this might be accomplished, it was essential "to obtain from the States substantial funds for funding the whole debt of the United States." Hamilton attended this Congress. He had reached only the 26th year of his age. His services while there were many and important. He was planting and disseminating doctrines of a utilitarian polity. After several weeks of anxious and protracted consideration a project was matured. James Madison, afterwards fourth President of "The United States of America," Alexander Hamilton and Oliver Ellsworth, afterwards Chief Justice, were appointed a committee to prepare the address, which should accompany the recommendation to the several States. Hamilton was the author of this address. It recited the defects of the government; described and explained the project to meet the public debt; called upon the justice and plighted faith of the States to give it proper support, and to weigh the consequences of rejection. The merits of the creditors' demands were again asseverated; and the report ends by asking that it be remembered, "that it ever has been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she con-

tended were the rights of human nature. No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all the other good qualities which ennoble the character of a nation, and fulfill the ends of government be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed; and an example will be set, which cannot but have the most favorable influence on the rights of mankind."

The toil of Washington, as the commander-in-chief of the army, was ended. "Necessity drew the sword — victory sheathed it." He was on the eve of resigning that trust. The new effort by Congress had his deepest sympathy, and, as a parting advice forced from him by the critical condition of the country, he wrote a letter, and, on June 8th, 1783, sent a copy to the governor of each State. It was replete with tender feeling, and instinct with sentiments of honor and patriotism, urging that this recommendation from Congress be adopted. An impression was made; but momentary. It had fallen on the rock, and took no root.

Indifference, worse than active hostility, chilled the ardor of the cause. The decline of national worth had begun. The best men of America were of this Congress. Their work was despised, rejected; nevertheless, Congress did not give up, nor lessen its exertions.

In February, 1786, the revenue plan of April 18th, 1783, was again brought forward. As that part of it concerning internal taxes was hopeless, the States, therefore, were requested to enable Congress, "to carry into effect that part which related to impost, so soon as it should be acceded to." There was reason to believe that the impost might be secured. In the course of the year all the States, except New York, had granted as requested the impost duty. That State, certainly, had passed an act upon the subject, but that act did not give Congress the power to collect the money. It required that the collections should be made by agents of the State, amenable to the State alone. This non-conformity on the part of a single State to accede to the proposition suspended its operation. Governor Clinton declined to facilitate a reconsideration by the legislature. Thus finally was defeated the labored, persistent efforts of Congress to relieve and save the country's credit, its unity and honor.

The traditional dread of centralized national government; the traditional confidence in their

own independent statehouseholds; the policy of decentralization — were triumphant over all. The Republic was lost awhile. For a season, the Revolution seemed to be worse than in vain. But while the Western horizon was filled with the clouds and darkness of descending hope, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose other beams that were struggling, in the cool of early dawn, to usher in the light of a new and perfect day.

This last defeat was decisive and set adrift all that concerned the general weal of the country. Anarchy was apparent. It was felt profoundly and humiliatingly by those who desired to stay that downward course which was bearing vital public interests to utter annihilation. They wished to place the country as fairly as possible before the world. La Fayette was visiting the courts of northern Europe. He, writing to Washington, especially of what had occurred at the Court of Frederic the Great, said: "I wish the other sentiments I have had occasion to discover with respect to America, were equally satisfactory with those that are personal to yourself; . . . . by their conduct in the revolution the citizens of America have commanded the respect of the world; but it grieves me to think they will in a measure lose it, unless they strengthen the confederation; give Congress power to regulate their trade, pay off their debt, or at least the interest of it; establish

a well regulated militia; and, in a word, complete all those measures which you have recommended to them."[1] John Adams, then our Minister to the Court of St. James, wrote from London, to his relative, Dr. Tufts, these words: —

"As to politics, all that can be said is summarily comprehended in a few words. Our country is grown, or at least has been, dishonest. She has broke her faith with nations, and with her own citizens; and parties are all about for continuing this dishonorable course. She must become strictly honest and punctual to all the world before she can recover the confidence of anybody at home or abroad. The duty of all good men is to join in making this doctrine popular, and in discountenancing every attempt against it. This censure is too harsh, I suppose, for common ears, but the essence of these sentiments must be adopted throughout America before we can prosper."[2]

America had impaired its respect in Europe; and those there, most friendly to her welfare, were ceasing, at last, to find excuses for her defaults. Washington retired, and seeking a much needed rest amid the shades of Mount Vernon, could not suppress an expression of his own mortification. He wrote: "The war has terminated most advan

[1] Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 97.

[2] *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 125.

tageously for America, and a fair field is presented to our view; but I confess to you, my dear sir, that I do not think we possess wisdom or justice enough to cultivate it properly. Illiberality, jealousy, and local policy, mix too much in our public councils, for the good government of the union. In a word, the confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance; and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To *me*, it is a solecism in politics, — indeed it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation, who are the creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action, recallable at any moment, and subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing, — sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained by the wondering world, are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness. That we have it in our power to become one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits, in my humble opinion, of no doubt, if we would but pursue a wise, just, and liberal

policy towards one another, and would keep good faith with the rest of the world; that our resources are ample and increasing, none can deny; but while they are grudgingly applied, or not applied at all, we give a vital stab to public faith, and will sink in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."

The downward course still continued. But an unseen influence of correcting power began to indicate its action upon the surface of events. Something was at work which was to direct those events toward the great and fundamental change in the political system. That local selfishness, which neither the counsels nor supplications of assembled intelligence, patriotism, and virtue, the character of Washington, the sympathy of his valedictory, nor even the voice of honor itself could provoke to duty, was quickening into alarm. This redeeming genius came under the appearance of endangered Trade. English creditors had debts yet due them in the several States; English troops yet stayed in possession of military posts within the United States; and — which produced more extensive disquiet to the States than any other cause — Great Britain was acting upon a rigorous commercial scheme invigorated by positive legislation. The latter was pressing most heavily and disastrously upon the characteristic restless enterprise and industry of the people. A retaliatory policy, compelling Great Britain to relax this rigor

by meeting it with commercial and navigation regulations equally restrictive, was suggested. Congress, however, could not act any further with effect upon foreign nations by again assuming with them, that the States were in effect a unit. The fiction had been dissipated. Its want of authority had become known. But the weakness of Congress was, at length, becoming the strength of the union cause. It had no power to regulate commerce either as to foreign powers or as between the States. The jealousies of the States had not permitted them to agree upon a method capable, now in the moment of utmost need, of enacting such a retaliatory policy. As with all former combinations and leagues between the colonies and States, the pressure for adherence encompassed them from exterior circumstances. The interests of Trade triumphed over State Sovereignty. Converts from the mart multiplied to the conviction that a national central power was a necessity for the regulation of commerce.

Meanwhile the United States representatives in Europe were endeavoring to negotiate commercial treaties. Commissioners had been appointed to that end. The trade with Great Britain and its West Indian colonies had a peculiar value. Troubles had followed the treaty of peace and serious consequences threatened. Mr. Adams had been transferred from the mission to Holland,

and appeared at the Court of St. James, as Minister. He was failing to form a commercial convention there. Indeed, he ultimately failed in accomplishing any one of the great matters undertaken there; and, at his own request, he was recalled in 1788.[1] England had declined for the very reason that the Confederate Assembly of the "United States" had no power to secure the observance of a treaty. There could be no reciprocity of obligation. The ideal of nationality, upon which the peace had been predicated at Paris, was no longer admissible, after the cross purposes between the States and Congress had become so notorious. "We are one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow," Washington frankly confessed. "Who will treat with us on such terms?"

Official information came that England would make no commercial concessions to the United States in their dismembered, dissociate, and contentious condition. The States were not a nation; and, therefore, not capable of assuming the responsibilities of nationality. Mr. Adams, in accord with the duties of his official position, presented a memorial to the British Minister for foreign affairs. It asked and urged a complete compliance on the part of Great Britain with the treaty of peace. The Marquis of Carmarthen acknowledged, explicitly enough, the obligations, created by that treaty, to

[1] *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 125.

withdraw the garrisons from all posts within the territory of the United States; but he insisted, that the obligation of the United States to remove every lawful impediment to the recovery of debts due by its citizens to English subjects was one of equivalent obligation: as correspondent and as clear; and he added the assurance, "that, whenever America should manifest a real determination to fulfill her part of the treaty, Great Britain would not hesitate to prove her sincerity to coöperate in whatever points depended upon her, for carrying every article of it into real and complete effect." The King, also, when the American Minister was taking his leave in 1788, said to him: "Mr. Adams, you may with great truth assure the United States that whenever they shall fulfill the treaty on their part, I, on my part, will fulfill it in all its particulars." The imputation was felt to be humiliating and true. Not willing to leave the matter there, the ministry seem to have had a disposition, with motives for certain future advantages, likely to arise from a continuance of the want of a common supreme government over the States,[1] to increase the pain natural to minds sen-

[1] Benjamin Franklin writes from Passy, February 8, 1785, to John Jay: "I did hope to have heard by the last packet of your having accepted the secretaryship of foreign affairs, but was disappointed. I write to you now, therefore, only as a private friend; yet I may mention respecting public affairs, that, as far as I can perceive, the good disposition of this court towards us continues.

sitive to the claims of honor, and so the ministry affected a temper which was readily construed into an intentional affront. Mr. Adams said he met only "with that dry decency and cold civility which appears to have been the premeditated plan from the beginning." But, notwithstanding, Americans were not influenced by such indiscreet conduct into any sort of palliation or excuse for the short-comings of their own countrymen. They themselves saw, felt, and acknowledged the truth as it appeared at the time. We say, as it appeared at that time, for it was subsequently discovered that England herself was already in serious default, and, so much so, that, if it had become known, she was not at liberty to insist on the position which she took in relation to any non-fulfillment on the part of America of the articles of the treaty. When the first diplomatic plenipotentiary from Great Britain came to the United States, Mr. Jefferson, then the Secretary for Foreign Affairs,[1] made that gentleman acquainted with the mistaken ground which

I wish I could say as much for the rest of the European courts. I think that their desire of being connected with us by treaties, is of late much abated; and this I suppose is occasioned by the pains Britain takes to represent us everywhere as distracted with divisions, discontent with our governments, the people unwilling to pay taxes, the Congress unable to collect them, *and many desiring the restoration of the old government.* The English papers are full of this stuff, and their ministers get it copied into the foreign papers."

[1] The office since called the Secretary of State.

his government had taken on this particular subject, and seems to have convinced him that this was the true state of the case.[1] We, however, are

[1] The famous state-paper of May 29, 1790, written by Jefferson, then the Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the Washington administration, clearly proved, and was tacitly admitted by Mr. Hammond, the first British Minister to the United States, as the newly discovered truth of the case, that "the treaty of 1783 was violated in England before it was known in America, and in America as soon as known, and that too in points so essential as, that without them, it never would have been concluded;" and that "the recovery of the debts was obstructed validly in none of the States, indirectly only in a few, and that not till after the infractions committed on the other side."

Perhaps it is well for us to remember, in apology for the popular dissatisfaction, that there were other views widely held, and at least with plausible argument in their support, discouraging the payment of such debts; and though they did not prevail even with his associates, yet Franklin, who was in most friendly relations with Shelburne, thought proper to propose and read the following to the Commissioners before signing the preliminary articles:—

"It is agreed, that his Britannic Majesty will earnestly recommend it to his Parliament to provide for and make a compensation to the merchants and shop-keepers of Boston, whose goods and merchandise were seized and taken out of their stores, warehouses, and shops, by order of General Gage and others of his commanders and officers there; and also to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, for the goods taken away by his army there; and to make compensation, also, for the tobacco, rice, indigo, and negroes, etc., seized and carried off by his armies under General Arnold, Cornwallis, and others, from the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia; and also for all vessels and cargoes, belonging to the inhabitants of the said United States, which were estopped, seized, or taken, either in the ports, or on the seas, by his government, or by his ships of war, before the declaration of war against the said States. And it is further agreed that his Britannic Majesty will also earnestly recommend it to his Parliament to make

not strictly considering the historical truth concerning the particulars of those transactions, but the effect of England's adverse course, and the effect of other circumstances, both interstate and foreign, whether real or supposed at the time to be real, which had a bearing in accelerating those

compensation for all the towns, villages, and farms burnt and destroyed by his troops, or adherents, in the said United States.

"FACTS. — There existed a free commerce, upon mutual faith, between Great Britain and America. The merchants of the former credited the merchants and planters of the latter with great quantities of goods, on the common expectation that the merchants, having sold the goods, would make the accustomed remittance; that the planters would do the same by the labor of their negroes, and the produce of that labor, tobacco, rice, indigo, etc.

"England, before the goods were sold in America, sends an armed force, seizes those goods in the stores; some even in the ships that brought them, and carries them off; seizes, also, and carries off the tobacco, rice, and indigo, provided by the planters to make returns, and even the negroes, from whose labor they might hope to raise other produce for that purpose.

"Britain now demands that the debts shall nevertheless be paid. Will she, can she, justly, refuse making compensation for such seizures?

"If a draper, who had sold a piece of linen to a neighbor on credit, should follow him, and take the linen from him by force, and then send a bailiff to arrest him for debt, would any court of law or equity award the payment of the debt, without ordering a restitution of the cloth?

"Will not the debtors in America cry out, that, if this compensation be not made, they were betrayed by a pretended credit, and are now doubly ruined; first, by the enemy, and then by the negotiators at Paris; the goods and negroes owed them being taken from them, with all they had besides, and they are now to be obliged to pay for what they have been robbed of?"—*Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. 10, pp. 88, 94, 106. "Paper C."

causes which finally effected the union of the States, by urging the States themselves to move towards the formation of a more united and permanent government. Indeed the sentiment among some of the leading public men bred in them a morbid moral excitement; as, for example, when the celebrated Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, a member of Congress, speaking of the want of faith with creditors, said, concerning the formal legal contrivances enacted to delay the collection of claims, that "Justice was iniquity reduced to elementary principles;" and that "in some States creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be prosecutors, and confidence was forsaking society."[1] "Some of the facts," wrote John Jay to Washington, "are inaccurately stated and improperly colored; but it is too true that the treaty has been violated. On such occasions, I think it better fairly to confess and correct errors, than attempt to deceive ourselves and others, by fallacious though plausible palliations and excuses. To oppose popular prejudices, to censure the proceedings and expose the impropriety of States, is an unpleasant task, but it must be done."[2]

[1] Fisher Ames' *Works*, vol. 2, p. 27.

[2] The facts relative to this negotiation are stated in the correspondence of General Washington. The statement is supported by the *Secret Journals of Congress*, vol. 4, p. 329, and those which follow.

These will be sufficient to show and distinguish the spirit in which the two governments were acting toward each other and in support of what each conceived the interests of their country.

British policy or resentment at promises unfulfilled, perhaps both operated in conjunction, were aiding the organizing demand in America for some government more national, more comprehensive, and more powerful than any possible under the enfeebled Confederacy.

A national party and a state party were now in full career. One to hold the people up to the performance of the grand task undertaken for their ultimate salvation, the other to deal with the question as that of mere practical and present interest. In the State of New York the contest between the two was to be most earnest and radical. It was to give a fresh beginning to principles for party strife which were to outlive the immediate occasion and strongly mark the future of the State and the nation. On that field Hamilton was to win the decisive battle for a new Republic.

It was generally observed, also, that the feelings of admiration and respect and hope which had pervaded Europe for the American States had become sadly impaired. The effect of this was to sober the Americans into an understanding of their true relative position to the rest of the world and as between themselves; and to teach them to

investigate and value the nature of the rich and abundant springs of prosperity lying within themselves. England, unfortunately for herself, by her general conduct, and by her transcendent literature more potent than all her other forces, led the era of unfriendly feeling with hurtful acts and an affected supercilious indifference. Between America and herself this was to beget a mutual antipathy and distrust which nearly three quarters of a century, and many interchanges of courtesy and kindness and social intercourse of cultivated minds and warm kindred hearts, were needed to mitigate and efface. George III., who, in 1785, received Mr. Adams with cheerful words approving his candor and independent manly patriotism,[1] turned his back, in 1787, upon him and Thomas Jefferson, when they together came on a mission to negotiate treaties of commerce with England and other European powers. A slight, equally ill-timed and ill-mannered, which encouraged, at least in Jefferson, a studied contempt for kingly authority and office; and intensified in him those *sans culotte* tastes, which blurred, sometimes, the republican

[1] No witness other than Lord Carmarthen, the official secretary of foreign affairs, was admitted to the initiative conference between the monarch and his recent subject. "I must avow to your majesty," finally added Mr. Adams, significantly, "I have no attachment but to my own country." The King quickly replied, "An honest man will never have any other." — See *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 101.

simplicity of his true nature.[1] The English Whigs, who, in 1774–75, were so enthusiastic for the con-

[1] Mr. Merry was the British Minister to the United States in 1803. He thus related to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, his first presentation as such minister officially to the President, Jefferson: "I called on Mr. Madison (then Secretary of State) who accompanied me officially to introduce me to the President. We went together to the mansion-house; I being in full official costume, as the etiquette of my place required on such a formal introduction of a minister from Great Britain to the President of the United States. On arriving at the hall of audience, we found it empty; at which Mr. Madison seemed surprised, and proceeded to an entry leading to the President's study. I followed him, supposing the introduction was to take place in the adjoining room. At this moment Mr. Jefferson entered the entry at the other end, and all three of us were packed in this narrow space, from which, to make room, I was obliged to back out. In this awkward position my introduction to the President was made by Mr. Madison. Mr. Jefferson's appearance soon explained to me that the general circumstances of my reception had not been accidental, but studied. I, in my official costume, found myself at the hour of reception he had himself appointed, introduced to a man as President of the United States, not merely in an undress, but actually standing in slippers down at the heels, and both pantaloons, coat, and under-clothes indicative of utter slovenliness and indifference to appearances; and in a state of negligence actually studied. I could not doubt that the whole scene was prepared and intended as an insult, not to me personally, but to the sovereign I represented." Moore, the Irish poet, who went to the United States in the same packet-ship with Mr. and Mrs. Merry, knew of, and sympathized with the British Minister in, his indignation, and the rhapsodist relieved his friends and his own mind by a few sharp iambics at the Presidential Democrat: as an

> "Inglorious soul,
> Which creeps and winds beneath a mob's control,
> Which courts the rabble's smile, the rabble's nod."

There should be no doubt that the conduct of Jefferson at this time

ciliation of America, were not now to be found among those Englishmen who favored the acknowledgment of her independence of the British crown. These Whigs were most conspicuous for their novel coldness. Indeed, such are the changes and chances of political affairs, those proposals which were to promote a gracious and politic course were advised by men eminent in the Tory ranks.[1] Lord Mansfield it was who had managed the delicate task for the introductory reception of Mr. Adams as first American Minister; and it was William Pitt, inheriting his father's sincere

"was prepared." Those who knew him well, including Hamilton, concur in speaking of his natural and usual manner as dignified and becoming the exalted positions which he held. He had been too accustomed to the proprieties of such and all kinds of official and social intercourse, in the highest and most polite circles in America and Europe, to be otherwise than purposely at fault. It was a piece of unseemly and unfortunate acting.

[1] "Standing in the lobby of the House of Lords, surrounded by a hundred of the first people of the kingdom, Sir Francis Molineux, the gentleman usher of the black rod, appeared suddenly in the room, with his long staff, and roared out, with a very loud voice: 'Where is Mr. Adams, Lord Mansfield's friend?' I frankly avowed myself Lord Mansfield's friend; and was politely conducted, by Sir Francis, to my place. . . . . Pope had given me, when a boy, an affection for Murray. When in the study and practice of the law, my admiration of the learning, talents, and eloquence of Mansfield had been constantly increasing, though some of his opinions I could not approve. His politics in American affairs I had always detested. But now I found more politeness and good-humor in him than in Richmond, Camden, Burke, or Fox." — *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 82.

desire to admit American rights and immunities, who, as chancellor of the Shelburne Administration, advocated a liberal course in commercial affairs, and introduced into Parliament a bill intended to secure the States advantages identical with those secured to the subjects of Great Britain, especially as regards her colonies in America. Had such a bill become a law, a wonderful emollient would have been applied to irritable interests; and reciprocal benefits to the trades and common intercourse of both countries would have flowed from its well-conceived friendly purport. George III. is frequently said by satirists to have been the responsible father of American independence. Truth lurks in satire. It was even yet a hard thing, so late as 1785, for any man or passion to entirely alienate the proudly filial affections of the people of British descent in America from the dutiful respect which they seem always willing to pay to the institutions and literature of England.[1]

[1] This inclination was, and is, very observable among people of generous minds in America. Adams, Jay, Governeur Morris, Kent, Marshall, and Webster, ever expressed their devotedness to the principles of English liberty and constitutional law. The eccentric, brilliant genius, John Randolph of Roanoke, once charged with being under "British influence," spoke a popular feeling when he fervently said in his place in Congress, "I acknowledge the influence of a Shakespeare and a Milton on my imagination: of a Bacon upon my philosophy: of a Sherlock upon my religion: of a Locke upon my understanding: and of a Chatham upon qualities which, would to God, I possessed in common with that extraordinary man.

The philosophers who opened the way for the crusade against order and perfect freedom in France, and some of her statesmen, like Vergennes, knew of this tendency, and would not have the United States become too great; they rather desired to preserve for England so much strength in North America, that the two powers might watch, restrain, and balance each other.[1] It was to this end that Vergennes had advised the negotiations of peace to be with each State, and not to insist on their being conducted by England as if the States were a united and entire nation; and, with similar design, he had pressed upon Jay a settlement of claims with Spain. Now, Spain was no friend to the new-comer among nationalities. Its "government singularly feared the prosperity and progress of the Americans. . . . . Spain would be much inclined to stipulate for such a form of independence as may leave divisions between England and her colonies."[2] Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador, met Jay in company with La Fayette, at Versailles, on September 26, 1782. "When shall we proceed to do business?" asked the Spaniard. "When you communicate your powers to

This is a British influence which I acknowledge." This is quoted from memory; and, though the writer cannot be entirely certain as to its merely verbal accuracy, he is certain that it is substantially correct.

[1] Raynal's *History of the Two Indies*, vol. 9, p. 318, edit. 1781.

[2] Montmorin to Vergennes, October 15, 1778.

treat," answered the American. "An exchange of commissions cannot be expected, for Spain has not acknowledged your independence," suggested Aranda. "We have declared our independence," replied Jay. The fine hauteur of his Huguenot descent lent fire to his American patriotism. France itself had entered into the war chiefly to cripple England, and to regain her former territories and prestige. Trustworthy intelligence had already come from the United States of the strong attachment of its people to England; Turgot reasoned that, from habit and consanguinity, their commerce would return there; and Vergennes acknowledged that he had doubts of their firmness and fidelity.[1] The Great Frederic of Prussia had, in view of the state of his own affairs, to lessen his aid to expressions of sympathy; and was able to say no further, practically, than that he would not hesitate to recognize the independence of the United States, "when France, which is more directly interested in the event of this contest, shall have given the example."[2] So it is seen that with France, Spain, and Prussia really wishing but to "cripple" England, she herself was unwittingly, for once, giving new life to their original purpose; a purpose defeated at the treaty at Paris, in 1783, mainly by Jay and Adams, who knew of the object

[1] Vergennes to Montmorin, November 2, 1778.

[2] Schulemberg to Arthur Lee, January 16, 1778.

at which the other powers aimed. "You are afraid," said the British commissioner, Mr. Oswald, at that time, to John Adams, "of being made the tools of the powers of Europe." "Indeed I am," answered Mr. Adams. "What powers?" returned Mr. Oswald. "All of them," was the candid admission from Mr. Adams. The independence of the thirteen American States had no sincere, unselfish friend among the nations of Europe — the prosperity of those States, as an independent united nation, was now apparent to be equally unsuitable to their policies.[1] The schemes of Vergennes for "the irreparable scission of the British empire," and his manipulations of circumstances to subordinate the States into unconscious instrumentalities and aids to those schemes, are very interesting.[2] The French Minister's "sole object was the disruption of the British empire without the aid of any European power, except Spain." The latter power was alarmed by the dangerous example which the independence of the States would give to the Spanish-American colonies. The designs of France and Spain were again favored by the course which events were now taking. The United States, according to those original designs,

[1] *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, vol. 6, p. 483; and the *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. 3, p. 300.

[2] This episode is well told in the *Life of John Adams*, vol. 1, pp. 420–484, and in vol 2, p. 22.

were to have been confined to a strip of land on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, bounded by lines nearly like those which France contended for against England after the treaty of Utrecht; Spain was to have held West and East Florida, and to claim that these extended to the interior and reached the great lakes; England was to have had the territories north of the Ohio, as defined by the Quebec Act of 1774; the country between Florida and the Cumberland was to have been left to the Indians, who were to be placed under the protection of Spain and the United States; and thus it would be that England, Spain, and the United States would watch, restrain, and balance each other, and make France the paramount power. This Vergennes meant to have insured as the result of his covert practices in arranging the terms of the proposed peace. The claim of the United States to have its western boundary on the Mississippi was to have been denied; as was, also, that of the right of fishery on the banks off Newfoundland.[1] Jay, as we have already intimated,[2] knew from an early time of these schemes; and John Adams had, of his own observation, causes to suspect the good faith of Vergennes. It was the certain knowledge of these schemes

[1] *Life of John Jay*, vol. 1, pp. 120, 143, 144, and in vol. 2, pp. 472–477.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 63, 64.

MAP OF
NORTH AMERICA
for Shea's Hamilton
showing the Boundaries of
THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND
THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS
according to the proposals of the Court of France
in 1782.
English ... Red
United States ... Green
Spanish ... Yellow
Uncoloured ... Indian territory under Spanish or American protection, according as it lies West or East of the Yellow intersecting line.
Scale of English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300
HUDSON BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
NORTH
CANADA
NEW GEORGIA
UNITED STATES
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
INDIAN TERRITORY
FLORIDA
Tropic of Cancer
Long. W. of Greenwich
Stanford's Geographical Estab.t

which had brought the English government and the American commissioners to an understanding speedily and, apart from the coöperation of Vergennes, to negotiate and conclude the preliminaries of the peace. Turgot, it is since then disclosed, had been consulted by Louis the Sixteenth himself, and had approved of Vergennes' policy. The official papers of Vergennes, and the written advice of Turgot, discovered in the famous iron-chest of that ill-fated monarch, have made public how few, beyond the generous La Fayette and his immediate consociates, are justly entitled to the indiscriminate laudation and gratitude with which it is habitual with us to speak of the France of that epoch. The schemes of those two kingdoms remained unchanged even after the peace of 1783. The disturbed condition of the States, and their continued repugnance to national unity and a common government, gave reasonable hope to France and Spain that their ambitious several purposes might yet be accomplished. The effect which the detected intrigues had upon the course of Washington's Administration, in establishing the policy of having no "entangling alliances" with foreign nations, will require our attention in a subsequent part of this work.

But the sturdy conduct of George III. was to accomplish great events; among others to alienate awhile the kind feelings of his former subjects,

and to help that pressure which was forcing them into a "solid union." The Shelburne ministry, excepting, perhaps, William Pitt, were his very able ally. Positive, hostile legislation, Orders in Council, which were "war in disguise," and, over and beyond all, that old ever-pervading affectation of insulting pride, made many improbable hopes, beneficial to America, come speedily and unexpectedly to pass; and chiefly among them concessions from the several States toward a union competent to the purposes of nationality and dominion. American interests had become thoroughly alarmed; American pride stung to the quick and excited into action. The sting was the more severe because, in part, thought to be deserved. Lord Shelburne watched with hopeful eagerness the progress of disaffection and consequent impending disasters in America: for Congress had exhausted its vitality, and publicly declared its impotency. And now the absurdity of the Confederacy was more fully declared by the failure to get even the impost. This was done too by the non-conformity of a single State. The significant, unequivocal fact was accepted by English politicians as a finality: the end of any further attempt looking to a united government, and, as surely, of course, the end of all devices and means on the part of the American States and their discarded Confederacy to provide for the public debts. The

understanding of men, especially in Europe, became convinced from the repeated failures of these Congressional ventures that a union of the States in an efficient and responsible form of government, was to be taken as forever impracticable and would now be abandoned.

The English ministry conducted its foreign affairs as though anarchy was from the first closely following peace in America: as though the labors of the Revolution would be quickly lost in the loss of liberty itself. The condition of feeling and the motives of political parties in England at this time have been freely and accurately described by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who has himself patriotically, honorably, and usefully filled the office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, during a time of peril not less imminent to the unity of his country.[1] The policy of England

[1] Lord Sheffield . . . . "painted the ruin and confusion in which the colonists were involved by the state of anarchy consequent upon their independence. And he ventured to whisper the prediction that, out of this chaos, New England, at least, would, in the end, solicit to come back as a repentant child to the maternal embrace. These arguments finally carried the day. In July of the year 1783, the exclusive system was decreed, first by Orders in Council, then by temporary acts of Parliament. The United States were treated as utter strangers, and carefully shut out from trade with the colonies. Restrictions and commercial jealousy were the order of the day. The demonstrations were viewed by all Americans as hostile in spirit, and therefore to be met in the same manner. The failure of all efforts to establish an effective counter-system of restriction went a great way to rouse them to a sense of

was then finally settled by the Shelburne administration. It was restriction. The healing method proposed by Pitt was rejected. To cripple and destroy the American States, and reduce them to suppliant colonies, was the object. The English ministry failed again. "War in disguise" was as fruitless as open war had been. The wrath of man worked unto the purpose of the union. For the arms which were to overcome and end this sea of trouble were to be sought and to be found only in a consolidation of the States in a common government; by that alone strength could come and authority be secured; past indebtedness be provided for out of the abundance of means for

the necessity of a better form of government. Pride came in aid of principle, stimulating the sluggish, and quickening the timid, until the cry for a new confederacy became general. The pamphlet of Lord Sheffield had its effect upon the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1788. Thus it often happens with nations that think to make a gain out of the embarrassments and miseries of their neighbors. Indignation at once supplies the vigor to apply a remedy, which, had the matter been left to reason alone, might have been put off a great while or never been resorted to at all. Lord Sheffield's interference must be classed among the secondary misfortunes which befell Great Britain in the disastrous record of the American War; whilst among the people of America it deserves to be remembered with satisfaction as a conversion of what was intended to be a poison into a restoring medicine." — *Life of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 105. See *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. 3, p. 263, relating the unfriendly suggestion of the emissary of Vergennes to Shelburne as to the claims of the United States to the Newfoundland fishery and to the Valley of the Mississippi and the Ohio.

national wealth; credit be restored at home and abroad; manufactures encouraged, and trade revived and extended.

England had, in fact, immediately after the peace of 1783, entered actively upon an epoch of aggressiveness and of defense. Aggressive, on behalf of her traditional assumption of the dominion of the seas: which was to reinforce the empire of her navigation, and to keep open and maintain to her own use and management the markets of the world; defensive, as the trusted champion of legitimate liberty on the continent of Europe. The French Revolution soon in bloody act denounced the divine right of kings; filled Europe with apprehension for its established order and peace; and boasted a special hostility to England and its constitutional freedom. That revolution developed into the Consulate; the Consulate into the Empire; and on the field of Waterloo alone was Europe assured of protection from universal conquest, given repose, and England's station in European affairs at once confirmed. No such moral or physical triumph followed the selfish career of England in her attempt to fasten again upon the world her assumed dominion of the seas. It brought her and the United States once more, in 1812–14, into what may be correctly called a complementary war, and its issue freed the open seas from that assertion of exclusive

dominion; but in 1861, when the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell was demanded from the United States, England finally renounced, by necessary inference, the doctrine itself, insisting, upon that occasion in her own behalf, for the right principle vindicated by America in that war of 1812.[1]

[1] Lord Lyndhurst, in his speech on the Right of Search Question, in the House of Lords, July 26, 1858, had already said: "Many persons — perhaps I ought not to say 'many persons,' but several persons, and those in a high political position — appear to think that . . . . we have surrendered a most valuable and important right. The answer which I make to that is, that we have surrendered no right, for that, in point of fact, no such right as that which is contended for [the right of search] has ever existed. We have, my Lords, abandoned the assumption of a right, and in doing so we have, I think, acted justly, prudently, and wisely." He then proceeds to observe "upon the general question," and refers to "some of the most eminent authorities on the subject," including Lord Stowell, to the end that the "question should be distinctly and finally understood and settled." "A distinction," he continues, "has been attempted to be drawn — for which I think there is no foundation — between the right of visit and the right of search. Visit and search are two words which are always placed together in our vocabulary of international law, but they express what is conveyed by a single term in foreign vocabularies, '*le droit de visite.*' What is the use of visiting if you can do nothing? . . . . The moment you call for an examination of the papers, the moment you ask a single question, the visit becomes a search; so that the visit to a particular vessel for the purpose of inquiry, is, in effect, the exercise of a right, comprehended in the words *droit de visite.* . . . . I think I have now gone far enough," he concludes, "to establish the position with which I started: that there is, in truth, no such thing as the right of visit." — Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 151 (3d series), pp. 2078–2083. Grotius' *Mare Liberum*, published in 1609, in which he asserts that the

Such was the condition of the American States at this complex crisis [1785–1787]. Practically segregating as a nationality from the family of nations; threatened and endangered from abroad; dissolving into hostile communities at home.

Yet it was within, and by the influence, of these several and converging hostile circumstances that the Republic came forth.

sea is a common open and free to the use of all nations. That treatise was really designed for a defense of the maritime rights of the Dutch. Selden's answer, published in 1635, entitled *Mare Clausum*, or, as its enlarged title declares, "*The Closed Sea; or Two Books concerning the Dominion of the Sea. In the first, it is demonstrated that the sea, by the law of nature and of nations, is not common to mankind, but is capable of private dominion, or property, equally with the land. In the second, it is maintained that the King of Great Britain is lord of the circumfluent sea, as an inseparable and perpetual appendage of the British Empire.*" Selden's book was translated into English by Marchmont Needham, and printed in 1652, with an appendix of additional documents by President Bradshaw. See, likewise, *War in Disguise, or, the Frauds of the Neutral Flags* (London, 1805); a remarkable and most eloquent pamphlet, published anonymously, but since admitted to have been written by the celebrated James Stephen, M. P.; and, also, *An Answer to War in Disguise: or, Remarks upon the New Doctrine of England concerning Neutral Trade* (New York, 1806). Gouverneur Morris was the author of the latter. These pamphlets made a wide and profound impression at the time they appeared. They are long since out of print, and are now little known.

As to the revolt of the American colonists, the late Lord Derby, in a frank spirit of intelligent candor, "unreservedly admitted, in a speech delivered in the presence of an American minister, that we were right in the Revolutionary contest; and if that question were now submitted to the free judgment of the people of England, such would be found to be the public sense of that great nation." — President Van Buren's *Political Parties*, p. 14.

Few perceived that germs of life were beginning to stir and glow amid the States themselves. Fewer saw hope for blossoms and fruit to come. Among those few who felt national life at last stirring beneath the surface of sectional interests and state antipathy, and who fervently cherished the indication, was Alexander Hamilton.

> "There is a day in spring
> When under all the earth the secret germs
> Begin to stir and glow before they bud:
> The wealth and festal pomps of midsummer
> Lie in the heart of that inglorious day,
> Which no man names with blessing — though its work
> Is blest by all the world." [1]

And such days there are in the slow story of the growth of durable and grand empire.

[1] *Story of Queen Isabel.* By Miss Smedley.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH

[1757–1774.]

ÆTAT. 1–17.

MRS. HAMILTON.

Facsimile from a print in the possession of Mr. George H. Purser.

Heliotype Printing Co., Boston.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH.

[1757–1774.]

ALEXANDER HAMILTON was born a British subject at Nevis, one of the West Indian Islands, on the 11th of January, 1757. His father was James Hamilton; — a son of Alexander Hamilton, of Grange, the family seat in Ayrshire, Scotland, who, in 1730, had married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Pollock. The lineage may be traced through the Cambuskeith branch of the family to a remote and distinguished ancestry.[1] James was bred a merchant; the West Indies encouraged mercantile ventures; and there he went and set up business in St. Christopher, another of those islands. Though, in the beginning, successful, he became, by indiscreet friendship, insolvent, and was compelled to accept maintenance for

[1] Anderson's *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, with Genealogical Memoirs of the several branches of the family.* Edinburgh, 1825. *Life of Alexander Hamilton,* by his son, vol. I, p. 1.

many years from those he knew in Scotland, until his son Alexander, as soon as able, assumed the sole care. He died, in an old age, at St. Vincent, in 1799. Bad health restrained him from joining his son in the United States, and they met no more. As we will have no need, in any other chapter of this historical study, to recur to this connection of Hamilton with the West Indies, it is better that we now should finish the particular subject: and by an orderly, though anticipatory, recital in this place of an incident, showing the unfading freshness of his filial and fraternal instincts. It is related in the following letter:—

"NEW YORK, *June* 23, 1785.

"MY DEAR BROTHER, — I have received your letter of the 31st of May last, which and one other are the only letters I have received from you in many years. You did not receive one which I wrote to you about six months ago. The situation you describe yourself to be in gives me much pain, and nothing will make me happier than, as far as may be in my power, to contribute to your relief.

"I will cheerfully pay your draft upon me for fifty pounds sterling, whenever it shall appear. I wish it was in my power to desire you to enlarge the sum, but, though my future prospects are of the most flattering kind, my present engagements would render it inconvenient to me to advance you a larger sum. My affection for you, however, will not permit me to be inattentive to your welfare, and I hope time will prove to you, that I feel all the sentiments of a brother. Let me only request of you to exert your industry for a year or two more where you are, and at the end of that time I promise myself

to be able to invite you to a more comfortable settlement in this country. But what has become of our dear father? It is an age since I have heard from him or of him, though I have written him several letters. Perhaps, alas! he is no more, and I shall not have the pleasing opportunity of contributing to render the close of his life more happy than the progress of it. My heart bleeds at the recollection of his misfortunes and embarrassments. Sometimes I flatter myself his brothers have extended their support to him; and that he now enjoys tranquillity and ease. At other times I fear he is suffering in indigence. Should he be alive, inform him of my inquiries; beg him to write to me, and tell him how ready I shall be to devote myself and all I have to his accommodation and happiness.

"Believe me always, your affectionate friend and brother."[1]

The maiden name of Hamilton's mother was Faucette. She was the child of a Huguenot, a physician, whose family had been driven from their country by the edict of Nantes, and who had settled and practiced his profession at Nevis. She had been the wife of a Mr. Lavine, also a physician. He is said to have been a "man of letters and of polished manners." The marriage was not fortunate. He was attracted by her beauty; and his wealth winning the commendation of the young girl's mother, he received the unwilling hand of a bride.

"Such hearts as these were never paired above!
Ill-suited to each other; joined, not matched."

[1] *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, pp. 2–3. *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, John C. Hamilton, vol. 1, p. 2.

She, after a time of mutual antipathy, or of misconduct on his part, obtained a divorce, removed to St. Christopher, where she won the true regard of James Hamilton, and he married her. They had several sons: Thomas and Alexander alone lived to maturity. Alexander was the youngest. She died while he was yet a child; but not before he was capable of receiving and preserving distinct recollections of her, and those recollections he would repeat with expressions of fondness. She was esteemed "a woman of superior intellect, highly cultivated, of elevated and generous sentiments, and of unusual elegance of person and manner."[1] The testimony which men entirely great, as it were with one voice, love to bear to the worth and efficacy of a mother's influence, moral and intellectual, is the most beautiful and the grandest phase of that superior and ineffable virtue, filial piety. A collection of such instances would be one of charming story and of wondrous power.

Hamilton derived from his parents the moral and intellectual qualities of their nationalities. Independent spirit, energy, self-reliance, and a mind prone to metaphysical pursuits. France and Scotland have not been unkindred alliances. The court of Louis XI. was guarded by Scotch troops; a Mary, "Queen of Scots and of Hearts," shared

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 2.

for a too brief reign the throne of France; and France gave a refuge to the exiled Stuart. Their intimacies have been many and dear; and Michelet has commented upon the kindred relation of the people of those kingdoms.

The hopeless state of his father's business allowed Mr. Peter Lytton and his sister, afterwards Mrs. Mitchell, to provide for the maintenance and education of the child. They were relatives of his mother, who was then dead. He went to St. Croix with them. Here he soon became proficient in the French and English languages. Hamilton seems to have rarely spoken of himself. We have one incident, however, upon his own authority, of this very early part of his life. He was taught to repeat the decalogue in the Hebrew tongue by a Jewish lady, whose school he attended, and "when he was so small that he was placed standing by her side on a table."[1] Before he had reached his thirteenth year he was taken from school. The opportunities for school training were then in St. Croix limited to the simplest rudiments, and it is likely that when he left the school he had already received all the benefit it was able to impart. But his own diligence and the aid of an admiring friend were to do much to remedy the defect.

In the autumn of 1769 Hamilton commenced

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 4.

the active battle of life, — not to weary, not to cease, till life ended. It was a busy life, lived for noble purposes. Not a "fitful fever," but a steady, earnest, brilliant warmth, generating great deeds. In the thirteenth year of his age he entered the counting-house, at St. Croix, of Mr. Nicholas Cruger; and in less than a year's time was thought capable of more than clerkly duty.

The boy was father to the man. The indications of his maturity in thought and in manner came with the earliest occasions. "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, and exactness."[1] Those are the qualities, rare in unity, which Cicero saw in Cæsar. This comparison may seem exaggeration. The sequel must determine. But Hamilton in the method of working was like Burleigh and John De Witt.[2] We are told that Cæsar divided his attention among many occupations at the same instant, and that many things went forward at once under his direction. Hamilton kept one thing at a time before his mind. Upon that all his energy was set. Whatever he found to do, that he did with all his might. He trusted little to genius and inspiration — much to labor and thought.

His understanding, industry, and tact so favor-

[1] Cicero, *Philipp.*, ii. 44.

[2] "One thing at a time" was the motto of these statesmen.

ably impressed Mr. Cruger that that gentleman, going [1770] for health upon a distant journey, left this mere lad, then not yet fourteen years old, in the sole charge and direction of his mercantile house. The commerce of the West Indies was then unusually active: especially with the North American colonies. The peace of Paris [1763] had fully opened navigation and given increase to the facilities and demands of trade. We have testimony of the ability by which he conducted this trust, contained in letters written by him [1770–1772] to correspondents in the neighboring islands, in the colonies, and in Europe. And, indeed, such was his indefatigable vigilance that wherever he inferred his own presence might better attain the object, there he would go personally in his master's interest, if it were possible. At this period — one which he is said to have esteemed the most useful part of his education — two letters were written by him which we should select as worth careful perusal; for they suggest to us how intelligent, circumspect, and intelligible he could be in practical transactions at an age when boys of his years are yet in preparatory schools. Those letters must certainly persuade us that Mr. Cruger was not imprudent in his confidence, though it was the rapid growth of little more than a year's experience. They are dated

at St. Croix, the 16th November, 1771.[1] He had then been two years in the counting-room, and one in its chief direction.

[1] LETTER TO TILEMAN CRUGER. — "In behalf of Mr. Nicholas Cruger (who, by reason of a very ill state of health, went from this to New York, the 15th ult.), I have the pleasure to address you by the long expected sloop *Thunderbolt*, Capt. William Newton, owned by Messrs. Jacob Walton, John Harris, and Nicholas Cruger; the latter of whom has written you fully concerning her destination, which I need not repeat. She has on board, besides a parcel of lumber for yourself, sundry articles on account of her owners as per inclosed bill of lading; and when you have disposed of them, you will please to credit each partner for one-third of the proceeds.

"Mr. N. Cruger's proportion of this, and the balance of your account hitherto, will more than pay for his one-third cost of her first cargo up; and for the other two, I shall endeavor to place value in your hands betimes. I only wish for a line from you, to know what will best answer.

"Reports here represent matters in a very disagreeable light, with regard to the Guarda Costas, which are said to swarm upon the coast; but as you will be the best judge of what danger there might be, all is submitted to your prudent direction.

"Capt. Newton must arm with you, as he could not so conveniently do it here. Give me leave to hint to you that you cannot be too particular in your instructions to him. I think he seems to want experience in such voyages.

"Messrs. Walton and John H. Cruger are to furnish you themselves with their respective proportion of the cost of the several cargoes.

"The staves on board if by any means convenient, I beg may be returned by the sloop, they will command a good price here, and, I suppose, little or nothing with you; could they be got at I would not send them down, but they are stowed promiscuously among other things.

"If convenient, please to deliver the hogsheads, now containing the Indian meal, to the captain as water-casks, and others

In the methodical and energetic management of great affairs of state, and in the prudent care of all weighty interests committed to his charge, we shall have occasion, perhaps more than once again, to note the influence of the mercantile knowledge and habit acquired in the counting-house at St. Croix. Nor will the reader fail to observe for himself the effects as they appear in the exactness, promptitude, industry, circumspection and thoroughness which mark each act of Hamilton's career: whether at college, in the army, in Congress, in conventions, at the bar, or as Secretary of the Treasury.

should he want them. I supplied him with twenty here. I must beg your reference to Mr. Cruger's last letter of the 2d ult. for other particulars.

"Our crop will be very early, so that the utmost dispatch is necessary to import three cargoes of mules in due time."

LETTER TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM NEWTON. — "Herewith I give you all your dispatches, and desire you will proceed immediately to Curaçoa. You are to deliver your cargo there to Tileman Cruger, Esq., agreeably to your bill of lading, whose directions you must follow in every respect concerning the disposal of your vessel after your arrival.

"You know that it is intended you shall go from thence to the main for a load of mules, and I must beg if you do, you 'll be very choice in the quality of your mules, and bring as many as your vessel can conveniently contain, — by all means take in a large supply of provender. Remember that you are to make three trips this season, and unless you are very diligent you will be too late, as our crops will be early in. Take care to avoid the Guarda Costas. I place an entire reliance upon the prudence of your conduct." There are two other letters of this early time preserved, which may be seen in the volume of *Hamilton's Writings*, edited by Francis L. Hawks at the request of Hamilton's widow.

During those years of active and various business servitude at St. Croix he was the same close student his later years more fully reveal. He read standard books, which laid open the theories of values and of trade: thinking out to practical conclusions how those theories might be advantageously applied to the daily work he had in hand. History even then, likewise, stored his memory; poesy warmed and elevated his imagination; philosophy enlarged his reason. The Rev. Hugh Knox[1] is said to have taken a special supervision of his studies in the ancient classics; encouraged his taste for erudite literature; and to have guided the subtle quality of his intellect while it pursued inquiries into those speculations, called ethics, by which moral man is governed, and into the philosophy of metaphysics, which discloses the science of mind. This gentleman had been somewhat a man of the world; was a good and ripe scholar, of a frank and encouraging nature, of a graceful and unaffected elocution, and of a mind susceptible to receive, and of a free disposition to impart to others, the influences of correct habits and religious sentiments. Hamilton was most fortunate in having thus early the association and friendship of a person so cultivated and so religiously toned. Mr. Knox seems to have had none of that "sour godliness" which averts men of taste and sincer-

[1] Miller's *Life of John Rodgers, D. D.*, p. 97.

ity, and which impairs "the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope" and "the confidence of a certain faith." He was a native of Ireland; came to the North American Plantations some time in 1753–1754, and established, under the patronage of the Reverend John Rodgers, a classical school, near a small village, called St. George, in the county of Newcastle, Delaware. He subsequently left the profession of teaching; entered the ministry of the Gospel; became eminent, and finally settled in the Island of St. Croix. The occasion which, while he was yet at St. George, brought about this change of calling on his part, will give us an illustrating idea of what manner of man he was: how apt he was to receive impressions, and how capable he was of impressing others. Mr. Knox was a respectful attendant at public worship, and a young man of good general moral conduct. He was, however, in the habit every Saturday evening of meeting some gay companions at the tavern near the place of his residence, with whom he spent several hours, at first with mirthful temperance, but, after a while, not so entirely in this proper manner as could have been wished. On a certain Saturday night, when Knox and his companions had been diverting themselves in their accustomed way, some of the company said to him, "Come, parson" (a title which they gave him on account of his being usu-

ally the most grave of the company), "give us a sermon." He declined. They urged him. He still resisted. At length, overpersuaded by their importunity, he said, "Well, come: I will give you a sermon which Mr. Rodgers preached last Sunday." That gentleman had delivered an unusually solemn and excellent sermon. Knox, aided by good memory, flexible voice, and great powers of imitation, was enabled not only to recollect and repeat the substance of the discourse, as he actually heard it delivered, but also to personate the voice and manner of Mr. Rodgers so faithfully, that one who heard it all from an adjoining room declared that, if he had not known to the contrary, he should have supposed it was Mr. Rodgers himself. Knox was carried away by the passion of the scene, and spoke so like an earnestly devout man, that his profane hearers became much affected, and, when the discourse was ended, one after another they silently and thoughtfully withdrew. But, what is the more remarkable, Knox also became most solemnly affected by his simulated preaching; and, when it was finished, he sat down with mingled emotions of shame and repentance at the impious mockery of which he had been guilty. He went homeward a sad and better man. After a season of self-induced retirement and reflection, away from the vicinity of St. George, he prepared for and entered upon his career in the Presbyterian

ministry, grew into a distinguished scholar and preacher, and received the honor of the degree of "Doctor in Divinity" from the University of Glasgow. This was Hamilton's first adequate preceptor, and the first to discover the rich resources of his intellectual genius. But whether Hamilton received from his Scottish nature, or at this time acquired, the tendency to examine subjects in their elements, it was certainly his most distinguishing mental trait. At college, Aristotle confirmed him in the opinion that "the end of philosophy is not knowlege but the energy conversant about knowledge," and that "the intellect is perfected not by knowledge but by activity."[1] Or, as the English epic poet describes this philosophy,—

"Knowledge dwells in heads replete with thoughts of other men;
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
Knowledge, a rude, unprofitable mass,
The mere materials with which wisdom builds,
'Till shaped, and smoothed, and fitted to its place,
Does but encumber what it seems to enrich."

The French language had become so familiar to him, by its general use in society and in the transactions of commerce, that he wrote and spoke it with the accent and fluency of native speech.

Another letter written by him at an earlier age,

[1] Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, i. 3, said of moral knowledge, Τέλος οὐ γνῶσις, ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις. — *Metaphysics*, lib. viii., c. 2. Πᾶσαι αἱ τέκναι καὶ αἱ ποιήτικαι καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι δυνάμεις εἰσίν. — Lib. viii., c. 8: Τέλος δ'ἡ ἐνέργεια, καὶ τούτου κάριν ἡ δύναμις λαμβάνεται . . . . . καὶ τὴν θεορητικὴν (ἔκουσιν) ἵνα θεωρῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ θεωροῦσιν ἵνα θεωρητικὴν ἔκωσιν.

and to which we have before now referred,[1] discloses, also, the boy's predominant disposition and spirit. It was written in the unaffected sincerity of a natural candor, and gives us an insight to the governing impulses of his heart. As we reflect upon this letter scenes arise before our imagination of two other youths, each less in years than those of manhood, who, also "contemning the condition of a clerk or the like, to which their fortunes condemned them," from their clerks' desks in the English company's offices at Madras and at Calcutta, felt that there was another and a bright future reserved for them. They were reserved, by fate, to extend and establish in India an empire of that dominion "which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."[2] We are thinking, of course, of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, the founders of the British Empire in India.[3] But what those conquerors did for England was to open and secure new marts

[1] *Ante*, p. 48. Dated, Nov. 11, 1769.

[2] *Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. 4, p. 110. Speech on the Presidential Protest.

[3] Both of these great men were "writers" in the mercantile departments of the East India Company, and entered that service when each was in his eighteenth year.

for British fabrics and interests, and to give ampler scope to her power. What Hamilton did was to vindicate the rights of every British subject, and to add new glory to the principles of the British constitution: giving them a renewed and more competent embodiment in a Republic. The circumstances, in each case, directed each to the end gained. Hamilton's destiny called for a higher art, and purer, less selfish, genius than theirs. The letter[1] is the key-note to his ambitious career. Let us, therefore, repeat his words to the full text: —

"This serves to acknowledge the receipt of yours per Capt. Lowndes, which was delivered me yesterday. The truth of Captains Lightbowen and Lowndes' information is now verified by the presence of your father and sister, for whose safe arrival I pray, and that they may convey that satisfaction to your soul that must naturally flow from the sight of absent friends in health; and shall, for news this way, refer you to them. As to what you say respecting your soon having the happiness of seeing us all, I wish for an accomplishment of your hopes, provided they are concomitant with your welfare, otherwise not; though I doubt whether I shall be present or not, for, to confess my weakness, Neddy, my ambition is prevalent, so that I contemn the groveling condition of a clerk or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I am confident, Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hopes of immediate preferment, nor do I desire it; but I mean to prepare the way for futurity. I 'm no philosopher, you see, and may be said to build castles in

[1] It is addressed to "Edward Stevens, in New York."

the air; my folly makes me ashamed, and beg you 'll conceal it; yet, Neddy, we have seen such schemes successful when the projector is constant. I shall conclude by saying, I wish there was a war.

"P. S. — I this moment received yours, by William Smith, and am pleased to see you give such close attention to study."

This is the earliest letter written by Hamilton which has come to public notice.[1] It is remarkable as the production of one so young. It is strong in its good sense, clear in conception, and firm in purpose. It shows a bold spirit and self-control. Qualities seldom together, and not akin. The greater value, however, of this letter lies in its internal evidence concerning those moral qualities of character by which he was guided in after-life. We see, by its date, that he could have been but recently entered, at most a few weeks, upon apprenticeship in that counting-house, when he reveals, with the frankness of ingenuous boyhood, that he doubts whether he will be in St. Croix when his young friend arrives there. But this disposition to seek in another sphere of usefulness a more elevating career did not lessen his current diligence. Whatever his hand found to do, that he did. It was by such diligence that, haply, the actual circumstances of his busy life, from childhood, furnished his creative mind with the experi-

[1] The first written trace of his existence, it is said, is of 1766, when his name occurs, as witness to a legal paper executed in St. Croix — Bancroft's *Hist. of United States*, vol. 7, p. 79.

ence of practical affairs. The variety and excellence of that experience were rare. During his minority his occupations were certainly numerous, and, each in succession, various; but he was not open to the imputation of instability. The curse of Reuben was not upon him. He excelled. He divulges to his boy-correspondent that it is ambition which moves him: not so much a dislike to what he is at, as an aspiration to attain a something not within the reach of the mercantile round to which his fortune condemned him. He would have that friend accomplish his desire, if his business welfare might surely allow it — otherwise not. He would not have his friend turn, even to gratify so natural a pleasure, from the road wherein the pursuit of duty lay. Success might be impaired — opportunity lost. An ambitious impulse prevails over all thought for himself and others. And yet he would not risk his character, though he would his life, to exalt his station. This proud regard, at the age of twelve years, for the "immediate jewel of the soul," good name, is not the least among the evidences of early maturity in intellect and morals. And his ambition was tempered by discretion: for he would not stir prematurely. His youth must now exclude hopes of immediate preferment. He would contemplate the idea of coming fame — but not waste his days in idle wishes. He would

"prepare" the way for the future. Constancy to the project is necessary to success. He would be constant. Such courage and fidelity have succeeded, and such may. We herein catch a first glimpse, also, of his inborn inclination to lead and judge. He commends, and with the air of an "approved good master," his friend's "close application to study." Some have censured this disposition as forwardness. Not so. That, which might have been assumption in others, was nature with him — and then his kind and manly heart generally conciliated where many might have offended. Finally, he wishes there was a war.

All these indications enable us to perceive in him, at that early time, those elements of which his full life was the development and consummation; and these aspirations have a sober-certainty about them which gives assurance that when the time does come he, at least, will be found ready. He wished for a war. The path of glory was still fresh with bright incentive. Only ten years had gone since Wolfe had fallen in the arms of Victory, on the Heights of Abraham; and the youth of England, with glowing hearts, gazed upon that apotheosis of heroic Patriotism.[1]

[1] Benjamin West "told us a singular anecdote of Nelson, while we were looking at the picture of his death. Just before he went to sea for the last time, West sat next to him at a large entertainment given to him, and in the course of the dinner Nelson expressed to Sir William Hamilton his regret, that in his youth he

Hamilton had just returned from one of his mercantile journeys to St. Eustatia, when, in August, 1772, a most violent and destructive storm burst upon the Leeward Islands. A description of its fearful effects was published in a local newspaper; the author was sought, and discovered by the Governor of the Island of St. Croix to be the boy Hamilton. This led to his talents, industry, and aspirations becoming known; and arrangements were quickly made, offered to him and accepted, by which a liberal education was provided for. So, in October, 1772, he left the West Indies in a vessel bound for Boston. He did not remain in that city; but, as the plan for his education required, went immediately to New York.

When Hamilton left St. Croix to enter upon the course of a liberal education, he brought introductory and commendatory letters from his

had not acquired some taste for art and some power of discrimination. 'But,' said he, turning to West, 'there is one picture whose power I feel. I never pass a print-shop where your 'Death of Wolfe' is in the window, without being stopped by it.' West, of course, made his acknowledgments, and Nelson went on to ask why he had painted no more like it. 'Because, my lord, there are no more subjects.' 'D—n it,' said the sailor, 'I did n't think of that,' and asked him to take a glass of champagne. 'But, my lord, I fear your intrepidity will yet furnish me another scene; and, if it should, I shall certainly avail myself of it.' 'Will you?' said Nelson, pouring out bumpers, and touching his glass violently against West's, — 'will you, Mr. West? then I hope I will die in the next battle!' He sailed a few days after, and the result was on the canvas before us." — Hillard's *Life of George Ticknor*, vol. 1, p. 63.

friend Dr. Knox to the celebrated Dr. John Rodgers, Dr. John Mason, and William Livingston.[1] Soon after his arrival in New York, he went to Elizabethtown, in "East-Jersey," and there presented the letter to Mr. Livingston at the "Liberty Hall:" a country seat, near to the town, to which that gentleman had retired on leaving the active practice of the law.

The Livingston family were, like that of Hamilton, of Scotch origin. They traced by regular connections their descent from a time far beyond A. D. 1600, in which year James VI. created Lord Livingston the Earl of Linlithgow. Their ancestors were noted in the public affairs of Scotland. A Mary Livingston was one of the "four Maries" who went with Mary Stuart to the French court.[2] It is from Robert, a first cousin of that Mary Livingston, and the second son of the fourth Lord Livingston, that the American branch is lineally descended. John, a grandson of that Robert, was the well-known divine who went in 1650 to Breda as a commissioner to negotiate terms with Charles II., for that monarch's

[1] Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*, p. 157, and *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. I, p. 9.

[2] "Last night the queen had four Maries,
To-night she 'll hae but three:
There was Mary Seyton, and Mary Beaton,
And Mary Livingstone, and me."
Mrs. Jameson's *Celebrated Female Sovereigns*, p. 131.

restoration to the throne. He, finally, settled in Rotterdam, abandoning his native country that he might be unmolested in his religious non-conformity. He began to publish there an edition of the Bible; but, dying, August 9, 1672, left it incomplete. His son Robert gained an intimate knowledge of the Dutch language during the years he was living at his father's home in Rotterdam. After his father's death he came to the Province of New York, and settled at Albany; where the earliest circumstance known concerning him is, that, in 1676, he was Secretary to the Commissaries. He became the owner of large quantities of land;[1] married Alida, widow of the Patroon, Nicholas Van Rennsellaer, and a daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, and thereby united himself with two of the first families of the Province.

In William Livingston's hospitable, intellectual, well-ordered "Hall" the young West Indian was received with cordiality as a member of the family. There he found a home, it seems, during those months when he was attending the grammar-school at Elizabethtown, which he had, without delay, entered. His diligence and intelligence soon attracted the attention of those about him.

[1] Those lands were incorporated into the Manor and Lordship of Livingston by a grant dated July 22, 1686, with the privilege of holding a court-leet and a court-baron, and the right of advowson of all the churches within the boundaries of the estate. — Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*, p. 25.

He continued his studies during the winter evenings until the hour of midnight had gone; and during the summer, in the after-dawn, he would go to retired places in the adjoining fields, and in shady coverts commit to memory, and reflect upon, the lessons for that day.[1] At this time his absorbed manner, and abstract, intense mood were observed, and were respected. He had already the habit of muttering his thoughts in a low tone.[2]

But he was not a prig nor a mere book-worm. When the tasks of the school-room were done, then he was the natural, light-hearted, companion. Providence had placed him in pleasant as well as profitable places. In the agreeable family of Mr. Livingston there were "three young ladies of distinguished merit, sensible, polite, and easy. Their manners were soft and engaging."[3] Miss Sally, the third daughter, was married [May, 1774] a year and a half after this time, to John Jay; then "a young gentleman of the law,"[4] in New York. And so it was, that Hamilton had, from his first coming into the province, opened to him a social intercourse, free from the fashionable dissipation of the neighboring city, suitable to his habits and taste; and it brought him in daily association with

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 8.
[2] See *ante*, p. 46.
[3] *Life of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. 1, p. 356.
[4] *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 350.

the best families of the colony. In Mr. Livingston himself Hamilton discovered a spirit as eager and a disposition as dominant as his own. It is a necessary inference that in Livingston's company, and in that of the other prominent men who formed the social circle which gathered at "Liberty Hall," the young scholar learned many things concerning the contentions between the mother country and the colonies. Here he got certainly his first practical lessons in the policy of encouraging and protecting home industries. Among Livingston's closest friends were the celebrated divines and controversialists Dr. John Rodgers and Dr. John Mason. To these gentlemen, also, Hamilton had delivered the other letters of introduction from their former co-laborer Dr. Knox. They were the chief assistants of Livingston when he wrote for, perhaps was really the editor of, "The American Whig," the party organ in the city of New York. During the fierce memorable opposition made to the project to establish an episcopate in America by the Church of England he had the active aid of Dr. Rodgers at least. Livingston in early public life professed to think that every man had a right to think for himself, as he shall answer for himself; and that it was unreasonable for one to be angry with another for being of different principles, as surely that other had the same pretense to quarrel with him. But then, and ever, he stoutly

defended his own opinions and interests; frequently with so much vigorous use of retaliation as to bring him under the censure of less ardent people, and, on one occasion, to incur the discipline of the law.[1] He inherited the non-conforming bias of his distinguished, self-exiled, ancestor who died at Rotterdam. It was resistance rather than aggressiveness. Some years before 1772 he had written with great ability, clearness of thought and of expression, a controversial pamphlet, which cast a revealing light upon the colonial politics of New York;[2] and, in the columns of the "Whig," the history of those earnest and bitter times are vividly exposed. It is to be remarked that it is in one of its issues [1768] the earliest note for the independence of America is sounded.

"The day dawns in which the foundation of this mighty empire is to be laid, by the establishment of a regular American Constitution. All that has hitherto been done, seems to be little besides the collection of materials for the construction of this glorious fabric. 'T is time to put them together. The transfer of the European part of the great family is so swift, and our growth so vast, that before seven years roll over our heads, the first stone must be laid. Peace or war, famine or plenty, poverty or affluence, in a word, no circumstance,

[1] *Life of Livingston*, p. 54 and 76. He was denounced from the pulpit, and the Mayor recommended the grand jury to present some articles of his writing as libelous.

[2] The pamphlets on both sides of these controversies were republished [1769] in two volumes, and they are most valuable in the history of that period.

whether prosperous or adverse, can happen to our parent, nay, no conduct of hers, whether wise or imprudent; no possible temper on her part will put a stop to this building. . . . . What an era is this to America! and how loud the call to vigilance and activity! As we conduct, so will it fare with us and our children." [1]

The separation of the colonies, or any of them, from England, does not appear to have been his wish individually. But he spoke of it as a probable result from the effects of events then passing and arising. In another number he had written, or published as his own sentiments and as the general state of public opinion, that he "could not look on the late tumults and commotions occasioned by the Stamp Act, without the most tender concern, knowing the consequences, ever to be dreaded, of a rupture between the mother country and these plantations; which is an event never to be desired by those who are true friends to either." We know that it took six years more of bad administration to alienate his affectionate obedience to the English crown. His professional position while at the bar of the Province of New York was in its front rank. We have been particular in noting the family, the individuality and career of William Livingston, because it will appear that his influence left ineffaceable lines upon the principles and conduct of Hamilton.

[1] *Life of William Livingston*, p. 146.

At this epoch, [1770–1775] it will be well, likewise, to reflect, there was a class of debating societies in some of the principal cities of the Provinces which must be considered peculiar to America and to those times. They were not arenas for the exercises of young men preparing for professional and public lives. They were composed of able and tried men, of acknowledged eminence. One of the societies, called the Sodality, had been in existence in Boston since the beginning of 1765, the year of the Stamp Act, when it was organized by the advice and efforts of Jeremy Gridley, the Attorney General of the Crown.[1] It was limited in the number of members. John Adams was of the number. The leading object of those Sodalities, though the word means a companionship at the table, was to encourage a more profound and ample study of the civil law, historical and political

[1] His career then was drawing near its close. He belonged to a former generation. James Otis was among those who studied law with him. He died September 10, 1767. "Let us form our style," he said to the law-club, "upon the ancients and the best English authors. I hope, I expect to see at the bar, in consequence of this Sodality, a purity, an eloquence, and a spirit surpassing anything that has ever appeared in America."—*Life of John Adams*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 90, 107.

The passage of the Stamp Act, March, 1765, revived the doctrines announced by, and the arguments of, Otis in the case of the Writs of Assistance; and, through these clubs, found a means to reach the understanding and the hearts of the people. John Adams was a close attendant at his Sodality, though his residence was ten miles distant from the place of its meeting.

jurisprudence, and of the law of nature. They bred many of that race of public advocates and statesmen whose knowledge and wisdom created the era in state-household which, so unexpectedly to Europe, commenced in 1774. Perhaps, never have the writings of the Civilians received from the members of the law-profession in any English-speaking country in modern times, and from other persons in general public affairs, such universal attention, and from so many apt and competent devotees, as in America during the years immediately preceding the Revolution.[1] Such a society, or law-club, had been formed in the City of New York, in 1770. It was called "The Moot." In this club, unlike that in Boston, party politics "of the Province" were prohibited as not a subject for discussion. Livingston was, until he removed into East New-Jersey, its President. The questions were learnedly and gravely discussed, frequently in written essays, by men foremost at the bar. Its resolves were cited as in the nature of authoritative decisions,[2] and so much influenced the judges,

[1] See *ante*, pp. 50–53. Perhaps it should be added to the observation of Buckle, already quoted at pages 51–52, that of this state of society the arguments of Hamilton, Pinckney, Webster, Legare, and the great judgments of Marshall, were, at later periods, also the natural result.

[2] A remarkable instance of the authority gained by some lawyers individually at this time, as oracles of the law, is that of Daniel Dulany, of Maryland. His opinions are published in the same volume with the decisions of the General Court and Court of Appeals

that on one occasion the Chief Justice sent an issue of law to The Moot for its advice thereon.[1]

In the midst of these social, political, and religious circumstances Hamilton's inquisitive mind could get abundant means for information and objects for contemplation. Yet, it seems more credible, that, however he might have yielded an odd hour or so of an evening to listen to discussion, the tenor of his daily life set in calm and patient even course through a student-life. We know that in a few months he was completely prepared for examination on entering college. But the "ambition," that once "was prevalent" lay only dormant near his heart, and it appeared to have subsided into the quiet habit and routine of the reclusive scholar. He would write essays on "politics." A love for Aristotle inspired him: for that author was among those he read. He composed a prologue and epilogue for a play, in which the officers of the British garrison, stationed near by,

of that State.—*Life of Chief Justice Taney*, pp. 132–133; *Life of John Adams*, vol. 1, p. 168.

[1] This club met for the last time January 6, 1775. It may interest New York lawyers of the present day to learn who were members of this famous Moot. They were: Samuel Jones, John Jay, Benjamin Kissam, David Mathews, William Wickham, Thomas Smith, Whitehead Hicks, Rudolphus Ritzema, William Livingston, Richard Morris, William Smith, John Morine Scott, James Duane, John T. Kempe, Robert R. Livingston, Jr., Egbert Benson, Peter Van Schaack and Stephen De Lancey. These names then stood high, many of them subsequently acquired national fame, and became historical personages.

were the actors. A young lady of his acquaintance died, and an elegy said to possess merit came from his pen; and one night, while watching the corpse of a dead infant, the child of his friend Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, he wrote verses intended to offer consoling thoughts to the bereaved mother. These are mentioned because significant of his manner of life during those preparatory months — nothing remarkable in themselves, yet showing his early literary tastes and sympathy for those who suffer.

He was now qualified to enter upon a collegiate course. His preference was for Princeton; and thither he went accompanied by one who was, perhaps, his earliest friend in America, Mr. Hercules Mulligan. Mulligan was an Irishman. He was a brother of the junior member of the firm of Kortwright & Company, to which firm produce was consigned from the West Indies to be sold, and the proceeds applied to Hamilton's support. The amount was likely not more than sufficient for his simplest needs. When Hamilton came to reside in New York, it was at Mulligan's house that he made his home. Mulligan became very active soon after this time in the politics of the Revolution; was chosen by the citizens of New York a member of the committee of one hundred; and after the battle of Long Island, while leaving New York, he was captured on his way, brought back

and detained in the city during the war. Now, — that we are speaking of this friend of Hamilton, — it may as well be mentioned at once, that, when Hamilton received in 1777 his appointment to Washington's staff, Mulligan became a confidential correspondent of the commander-in-chief, and furnished him most valuable intelligence. At the end of the war, when Washington had re-entered the city at the head of the American army, he showed his approbation and respect for Mr. Mulligan by taking his first breakfast there with him.

At Princeton College the young candidate presented himself to Dr. Witherspoon, its President. The novel application was denied. The established rules of the institution would not allow such a request: for with his habitual address, founded certainly on a true knowledge of himself, Hamilton desired "to be admitted to either class which his attainments would justify; but upon the condition that he might be permitted to advance from class to class, with as much rapidity as his exertions would enable him to do."[1] He had undergone, however, a private examination by President Witherspoon, and that gentleman expressed his regret that the request was inadmissible, "inasmuch as he was convinced that the young gentleman would do honor to any seminary in which he should be

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 9.

educated." The first choice not being accessible, Hamilton turned his attention to King's College,[1] in the City of New York. Here he was accepted, and by special privilege. Under the supervision of the tutors he was to proceed in the regularly prescribed course of studies, yet according to a plan which he had laid out for himself. President Cooper must have been astonished at the forward youth. And coming, as the request did, from a boy delicate in frame, somewhat below the middle height, more youthful in appearance than he was in years, the reasons for astonishment must have been increased. He was not an anxious, pale, "o'er informed"[2] looking lad; nor brusque and intrusive; but bright, active, generous, self-reliant; one whose evidently intelligent decision of character convinced all whom he approached of his ability to perform well whatever he determined to undertake.

Few incidents of his life at college are told. It was likely one of a purely studious kind. What little we learn of it evinces that it was so. Indeed he had formed, or developed from his really sensitive moral nature, a religious cast of thought. "At

[1] Now Columbia College.

[2] "A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy-body to decay,
And o'er informed the tenement of clay."
Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, Pt. i., lines 156–158.

this time he was attentive to public worship, and in the habit of praying on his knees night and morning. I lived in the same room with him for some time," writes Robert Troup, who was one of his three intimate collegiate friends, "and I have often been powerfully affected by the fervor and eloquence of his prayers. He had read many of the polemical writers on religious subjects, and he was a zealous believer in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. I confess, that the arguments, with which he was accustomed to justify his belief, have tended in no small degree to confirm my own faith in revealed religion."

His life-long friend Edward Stevens was, also, his fellow-collegian; and, together with Troup and Nicholas Fish, they were members, all four, of a debating club. We shall have occasions to speak of them again. They were then his warm friends, and remained so to the end. The selfish man may be designated as one who is habitually loose in his friendships, constant in his enmities. Hamilton was constant to his friendships.

> "The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel."[1]

Nicholas Cruger, his old employer at St. Croix, had settled in New York, and must have continued an observer and admirer of the brilliant and noble career of his former clerk. Hercules Mul-

[1] *Hamlet*, act i., scene iii.; original reading in first folio.

ligan lived long enough to speak to other generations of his friend, "the great man that was untimely taken away," and how that, when Hamilton was a collegian and an inmate of his house, he "used to sit the evening with the family, writing doggerel verses for their amusement, and was always amiable and cheerful."[1] It was Edward Stevens, who, as physician, attended Hamilton and his wife during their sickness from the epidemic fever which spread over Philadelphia, "fast depopulating the city and suspending business, both public and private;" and it was this earlier friend who, in 1799, he caused to be appointed upon a most delicate and important mission to assure Toussaint l'Ouverture that a commercial intercourse might be opened between St. Domingo and the United States of America.[2] It was Nicholas Fish, who was one of the executors of Hamilton's will, and who afterwards called his own son Hamilton.[3] And Robert Troup ever retained the

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 10.

[2] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 6, pp. 395, 398. *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, pp. 2, 25. In a letter written to the physicians of Philadelphia, after his recovery from this sickness, Hamilton writes: "I trust I now am completely out of danger. This I attribute, under God, to the skill and care of my friend Dr. Stevens, a gentleman from the Island of St. Croix, and to whose talents I can attest from an acquaintance begun in early youth."

[3] The Hon. Hamilton Fish, who has been Governor of the State of New York, Senator of the United States of America, and Secretary of State under the Grant administration.

friendship and confidence of his fellow-collegian, and by the influence of Hamilton he ultimately entered, as chief agent in the western part of the State of New York, the service of the Holland Land Company,[1] which led him to prosperity. These friends, with that which we are able to gather from what Hamilton himself has left recorded, are the chief trustworthy sources from whence have come to us, through traditions and writings, the incidents of those early days of Hamilton's life. May be, it was from sympathy with the studies and choice of young Stevens, who became in after years so eminent a physician, that Hamilton attended anatomical lectures given by Dr. Clossey, and so far engaged himself for the

[1] *Life of De Witt Clinton*, by David Hosack, p. 95. *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, p. 4. Notwithstanding the Holland Land Company declined, and its resources became nearly exhausted, the intelligence and spirit of the enterprise led to at least one grand, successful project, the Erie Canal; uniting the waters of our great lakes with those of the Hudson and the ocean. Public attention was thereby partially directed to the importance of inland navigation, which became the subject of repeated conversations between Robert Troup, Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Thomas Eddy, and other distinguished citizens, who were in habits of friendship and intimacy with General Philip Schuyler. Hamilton himself was so fully persuaded by the idea that, at no distant period, this country would be widely engaged in the construction of numerous canals, that he resolved to educate one of his sons to be a canal engineer, believing that he could not be destined to a more honorable and useful employment. This was told by Robert Troup to Dr. Hosack.

profession of medicine, that he was for a time a pupil in the medical school of Dr. Samuel Bard.[1]

The special privilege granted by King's College was approved by the boy's conduct and cleverness. The thoroughness, the rapidity, with which he acquired knowledge, advanced him in the course long before the time required by the rules of the usual curriculum. His application was very close and severe during those days; though he was proudly conscious of his genius. His application was equal to his talents. A favorite author and his own plan of education concurred in proving to him, that "natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study."[2] From memoranda,[3] made by him during and immediately after his collegiate term, we are enabled to get information as to the kinds of books which he liked to in-

[1] "John and Samuel Bard, father and son, were, when Hamilton was at King's College, distinguished physicians in the city of New York. The father was born and educated at Philadelphia, and was a familiar friend of Benjamin Franklin. He settled at New York, in 1745. In 1759 a vessel came into that port with many of its crew sick of a malignant fever; John Bard induced the public authorities to purchase Bedloe's Island and establish a hospital upon it. This was the beginning of the present system of quarantine for that city. He was the President of the first New York Medical Society. It was Samuel, his son, who was the founder of the medical school of King's College. His son was married to a daughter of Nicholas Cruger." — *Life of Samuel Bard*, by Professor John McVickar, p. 89.

[2] Francis Bacon.

[3] *Hamilton's Works*, vol. I, p. 4.

dulge in beyond the prescribed studies. Among those, which appear to have been his common companions, were Cudworth's "Intellectual System;" Hobbes' "Dialogues;" Bacon's "Essays;" Plutarch's "Morals;" Cicero's "Morals;" Montaigne's "Essays;" Rousseau's "Æmilius;" Demosthenes' "Orations;" and Aristotle's "Politics." He continued during those days to search into, with increasing ardor, the theories and practice of commercial transactions, and the nature, uses, and effects of money as an instrument of exchange and an expression of standard value. Ralts' "Dictionary of Trade and Commerce" and the "Lex Mercatoria" were mastered. Aside from the peculiar creative faculty of Hamilton, his fervor and persistent labor in intellectual pursuits reminds us of that other noble student, statesman, and philosopher, Francis Horner; who, dying at the age of thirty-six, had already durably impressed his own generation with the stamp of his comprehensive abilities and devotion to the public service.[1]

A storm was gathering now [1774], in the political heavens, more portentous than that which had two years before swept over the Leeward Islands. Its effect upon Hamilton's destiny was to be as

[1] There are few books richer in incentives for our young men than the memoirs of this eminent Englishman. It "is worthy," said Sir James Mackintosh, who knew him well, "of serious contemplation, by those more especially who enter on the slippery path of public affairs."

controlling and more determinate. But the collegian, if he noticed, was not distracted by the outward world. The academic grove claimed his duty. There was a quiet, retiring spot, then called Batteau Street,[1] where stately trees formed shady groves. There he took his daily walk, conning his daily task. The spirit of ambition came not near him there. Yet the time is come when he shall be summoned forth to "the battles, sieges, fortunes" of an eventful life. He is to have his wish. A war is near at hand. Not one, as he so early wished, which might maintain and extend the dominion of England; but one that will end by dividing its empire, yet vindicating its ancient principles of constitutional liberty.

[1] Now Dye Street.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH.

[1774.]

ÆTAT. 17.

CHAPTER V.

[1774.]

It was in truth an Epoch. Many things had been engendered which, in other days and other lands, gave birth to great arguments and noble deeds. It saw established the Episcopal order in America, and the minds of the colonists reconciled to its introduction — it influenced the origin, but not the crimes of the French Revolution — it began the argument which ended in the restoration of the trial by jury in cases of criminal prosecution for libel; and initiated the moral force which, overcoming the prejudices and law enactments of centuries, emancipated the Catholics of Ireland.

The social and political history of those times, which preceded, and by a series of evolving events developed, the revolutionary spirit which brought about the separation of the American colonies from the crown of England has, in its controversial literary phases, yet to be written. When written it will discover to practical statesmen sources of political wisdom which, in our

present days of vague impulse and unproportioned thought, should not willingly be neglected. It was, as we have said before,[1] an epoch in which the civil law regained for a time its liberal dominion over the minds of a race of intelligent men. It was an epoch in which the undying principles of the ancient Saxon constitution of Alfred were restored, and became the foundation of a new form of government: reëstablishing that ancient heritage for the children of his ancient race. Men were taught again to look beyond the Magna Charta for the fresh well-springs of their inalienable, absolute rights, and for the regulations of an orderly liberty, — were reminded that liberty itself was better understood and more fully enjoyed by their ancestors before the first Norman went into England than ever since; and that Runnymede and 1688 were only efforts to assert, and have recognized, the ancient constitution of the realm.[2] The principles of that consti-

[1] See *ante*, pp. 48–54.

[2] From Hallam's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (vol. 2, pp. 323, 324), I quote the following reflections to show that that which we call "progress" is, in historical truth, a recurrence to those primary principles from which nations have wandered, or have been driven by usurpation. There is not an important moral or political reformation related in history but has been equally an assertion and reëstablishment of an ancient well-ordered freedom, and a manifestation of a living power. "One is surprised," says Hallam, "at the forbearance displayed by the barons, till they took up arms at length in that confederacy, which

tution were soon to find, in memorable events, opportunities which would test and exemplify their efficiency. The People were to be taught by those examples the philosophy, and power. and utility of abstract rights. Such ideas were hidden things to the People — but now they were about to be made manifest to the whole world. The People learned, at an early day, that arbitrary government was unknown to the laws of England, and could exist only by usurpation and toleration. They saw for themselves that

ended in establishing the Great Charter of Liberties. As this was the first effort towards a legal government, so is it beyond comparison the most important event in our history, except that Revolution without which its benefits would have been rapidly annihilated. . . . . All that has since been obtained is little more than as confirmation or commentary; and if every subsequent law were to be swept away, there would still remain the bold features that distinguish a free from a despotic monarchy. . . . . An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the charter. In this just solicitude for the people, and in the moderation which infringed upon no essential prerogative of the monarchy, we may perceive a liberality and patriotism very unlike the selfishness which is sometimes rashly imputed to those ancient barons. And, as far as we are guided by historical testimony, two great men, the pillars of our church and state, may be considered as entitled beyond the rest to the glory of this monument: Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William, Earl of Pembroke. To their temperate zeal for a legal government, England was indebted during that critical period for the two greatest blessings that patriotic statesmen could confer: the establishment of civil liberty upon an immovable basis, and the preservation of national independence."

Those who wish to pursue thoughts on an associate theme, as

the spurious form of an illegal device, entitled writs of assistance, in the hands of even crown-officers, and upheld by the extraordinary judicial sanction of judicial partisans, could not enter the sanctuary of the humblest habitation; but that every man's house was, indeed, his castle, capable of laughing to scorn all illegitimate assault. England soon shared the benefit which emanated from this success of a lawful resistance to an unconstitutional process; and every home in England was made more secure, when she followed the example of her censured colony and ended in her own land the inquisitorial process of writs of assistance.[1] But the attempt itself in the province of Massachusetts Bay had a circumstantial result there of great importance for America: it brought James Otis for the first time into public life, and started by the doctrines then proclaimed by him, thoughts which, under other and future ministerial aggressions upon colonial rights, moved the general heart and mind to acknowledge, in 1776, that the mother country and the American colonies had become politically separate and apart forever. This was in 1761. The struggle with France for an ascendency of dominion on

just in principle as they are eloquent and correct in expression, will receive great pleasure and edification from reading the sermon of Canon Liddon concerning "The Law of Progress." — *University Sermons*, p. 25.

[1] See *ante*, p. 61.

the Western Continent had not yet ceased. It was two years after [1763] that the treaty of Paris withdrew from the New England colonies the direct antagonism of the province of Quebec. The French were their rivals in the great fisheries. Also, an active, irreligious, antipathy had always existed between the French inhabitants of Canada and the Englishry of the adjoining territories; and during the war, then just ended, the hostility of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay was stimulated to a greater degree by the ancient grudge which they bore to all who were of the communion of the Catholic Church, and to those who followed the banners of France. Of that feud Catholic emancipation in Ireland was to become the not intended, not foreseen product.[1] Who may deny that there is a Divinity which shapes the ends which man proposes, and that man's error may work the purposes of God? That peace of 1763 with France — England now in possession of Canada, "her American dominion stretching without dispute from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; from the gulf of Mexico to the Hudson Bay" — seemed to make England at length, an empire, comprehensive and united, and capable of accomplishing the aspirations of her most ambitious subjects. The name of the elder Pitt was a tower of strength to his country. Her

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, p. 156.

fame was exalted above that of other nations. None gloried more in this triumph than her own children of the American colonies. The name of Fort Duquesne, near the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany rivers, was changed to Fort Pitt,[1] and the citizens of New York erected in a public place a statue in honor of the great commoner. It was the arms of the colonists which had given vigorous, perhaps decisive, aid to the grand achievement of the British Empire in North America. The House of Burgesses of Virginia, on behalf of its colony, gave thanks to Colonel George Washington, — when he returned from the successful campaign which established the right of the English crown to the possession of the valley of the Ohio, — for distinguished military services "rendered to his country."[2] And James Otis spoke the universal sentiment of the American colonists at this mo-

[1] Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 3 and p. 26.

[2] Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 107, 108. It was on this occasion that the well-known incident occurred which is related in Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 45: Washington, at that time in the twenty-seventh year of his age, "rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the speaker [Mr. Robinson] relieved him by a stroke of address. "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language which I possess." — Sparks *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, pp. 327, 328, *note*, also relates the incident.

ment, as faithfully as John Adams did two years afterwards, under changed circumstances, when he exultingly said to the people of Boston: "We in America have abundant reasons to rejoice. The heathen are driven out, and the Canadians conquered. The British dominion now extends from sea to sea, and from the great rivers to the ends of the earth. Liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be co-extended, improved, and preserved to the latest posterity. No constitution of government has appeared in the world so admirably adapted to these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in America is, of common right, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. By particular charters particular privileges are justly granted, in consideration of undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America. Some weak and wicked minds have endeavored to infuse jealousies with regard to the colonies; the true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; and what God in his providence has united let no man dare attempt to sunder."[1] Bold and grand suggestions came

[1] Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. 3, pp. 101, 102; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 5, p. 90. Otis subsequently reiterated this expression as to the theoretical excellence of the English constitution: "The British constitution in theory and in the present [1764] administration of it in general, comes nearest the idea of perfection of any that has been reduced to prac-

from the restless speculations of patriots, who wished to see England as supreme and as consolidated, as her dominions were now extensive and assured. While the voice of Otis had uttered that which had ever abided in the heart of the People of America, it was the piercing intellect of Benjamin Franklin which gave system and plan to a majestic idea, which arose before the mind of only thoughtful and few men on each side of the Atlantic. A systematic consolidation of the whole British Empire, by a regular plan of representation, — the representatives coming to a central point from every part of its realm and dependencies, — was thought by those few men to be provident and feasible. There was something, it was conceived, as wise as magnificent in the idea of an imperial congress of such an empire, embracing some of the fairest and richest portions of the four quarters of the globe. Franklin, by that ample scope of fertile apprehension beyond the stretch of ordinary minds, and which marks his words and deeds as above those of any other known person of that age, contem-

tice; and, if the principles of it are adhered to, it will, according to the infallible predictions of Harrington, always keep the Britons uppermost in Europe." — Otis' *Rights of the Colonists*, p. 21. It is well to bear in memory how early such an opinion became settled in the minds of the colonists, became the leading idea of Hamilton and others, and how the system grew to be thought the best and most natural model for the new form of government in 1787. — See *Writings of John Adams*, vol. 3, p. 20.

plated that such a consolidation and representation would inevitably lead to a transfer of the actual seat of the government of the British Empire. Poets seem to have shared the inspiring theme, and George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, "with something of prophetic strain," sung that

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way,
> The first four acts already past;
> The fifth shall crown the drama with the day,
> Earth's noblest empire is the last." [1]

And, in the rapt vision of Milton,[2] enthusiasm dis-

[1] "Verses on the Prospect of planting Arts and Learning in America." — *Berkeley's Works*, vol. 2, pp. 443–444, folio edition, Dublin, 1764. It is said that these verses were written at Newport, America. — *Rhode Island Historical Coll.*, vol. 3, p. 36. The other following stanzas of the poem are in the same vein and to the same purport: —

> "The muse, disgusted at an age and clime,
> Barren of every glorious theme,
> In distant lands now waits a better time,
> Producing subjects worthy fame."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "There shall be sung another golden age,
> The rise of empire and of arts,
> The good and great inspiring epic rage,
> The wisest heads and noblest hearts.
>
> "Not such as Europe broods in her decay:
> Such as she bred when fresh and young,
> When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
> By future poets shall be sung."
>
> . . . . . .

[2] We allude to the following famous passage from Milton's *Areopagitica*: "When the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly

cerned another and an elder inspired promise that the hope, born of an enthusiastic love of country and loyalty, should yet see the British Empire become as one, and its seat of government removed to and established in America. The "Plan for Perpetuating the British Empire," drawn by Franklin,[1] if the paper had been preserved to our time,

up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy, and new invention, it betoken us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, by casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honorable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schism."

[1] Sparks' *Life and Writings of Franklin*, vol. 7, pp. 366-367; and Tudor's *Life of Otis*, pp. 199 and 392. In writing to his son (Governor Franklin) from London, November 25, 1767, giving some account of his scheme for planting one settlement at the mouth of the Ohio, and another at Detroit, he adds: "My Lord (Clare) told me one pleasant circumstance, namely: that he had shown this paper to the Dean of Gloucester (Dr. Tucker) to hear his opinion of the matter; who very sagaciously remarked, that he was sure that paper was drawn up by Dr. Franklin; he saw him in every paragraph; adding, that Dr. Franklin wanted to remove the seat of government to America; that, said he, is his constant plan."

The Portuguese experiment has shown that the transfer of the

would be now most interesting and valuable, when read in the light of those present events by which England has command of the canal at Suez, has set up the sceptre of empire in the East, and has strengthened her holds in the natural and historical highway to the Indies. The plan was worthy of the mind which had, as the French phrase it, "a great deal of the future in it." He had conceived vast impressions of the countries watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and this at an early day when few, even in thought, had crossed the ridges of the Alleghanies. He saw in the prospect a marvelous development of the natural resources of America; thought these parts of the British dominion would ultimately predominate over all others, and that, therefore, the seat of its government would find its best place there.

Such were the proudly filial and loyal senti-

seat of the administration of government is not impossible. Some of the English press have imputed to the Earl of Beaconsfield, who in our own day inflames the imagination of his country with magnificent ventures in statesmanship, that his real design, in the scheme of the East Indian Empire, is to prepare the way for the throne of England to assume a greater and more central sway on the spot where the throne of Tamerlane has existed.

The presence at the American Congress to-day of representatives of the Union from California, Nevada, Oregon, Arizona, — States more distant from Washington City at the time of their admissions than England was — shows that such a universal representation as Otis and Franklin contemplated was not impracticable.

ments and hopes of the Englishry in the American colonies at the era when the war with France was brought to an end.

England needed a revenue. Its treasury was low — its people overburdened with taxation — its trade demanding profitable markets. Then came the whispering of evil counsel to tax America. America had already greatly overtaxed herself to supply means by which to do her part in the recent war with France. No matter for that. The great traditional enemy of England was subdued, and the disobedience of one's own children need not be tolerated. A scheme to draw a revenue from the American plantations had been mentioned to George II. That monarch knew something of the character of those who founded the American Colonies. It was of a temper not to be trifled with. Its spirit could neither be broken nor bent. He declined to engage in the project. But another king was now upon the throne. He was an Englishman. He had no experience of the character of that people which his predecessor understood and feared. Besides he believed in the right of kings — the implicit obedience of subjects. He was a gentleman. His own character was naturally firm — in the struggle with the colonists it became obstinate. His reign was, in the beginning and during an important part of it, an arbitrary reign. As arbitrary, and would

have been as disastrous for the welfare and peace of England at home, as that of the Stuarts, had not its stubborn current been controlled by the will of Chatham, and by the immediate effect of the revolt of the colonists. It may be true that George III. was led unwarily into the dispute with the colonists — it is not to be doubted that the revival of the scheme to tax them was again brought forward and planned by others, and, perhaps, actively by one, a crown-officer, himself a native of the Province of Massachusetts Bay[1] — it is likely that the King and the Ministry were from first to last kept in ignorance of the actual reasons and causes why the colonists were resisting, and how general and determined was that resistance. However these may be, it is certain that the King interested himself throughout very deeply, and appears to have considered the contest not simply a political but a personal concern of his own.[2]

[1] Thomas Hutchinson, Governor at this time of the Province of Massachusetts, was of a family distinguished in the colonial annals of New England; was born in Boston in 1711; educated at Harvard College; after enjoying several offices of trust under the Crown, and retaining the respect of the people, his hypocrisy was discovered by his famous secret correspondence sent by Franklin to Massachusetts; he was superseded by General Gage; went to London, and was pensioned by the government; and there died on June 3, 1780. His ambition led him astray, and he died "a pensioned, broken-hearted exile."

[2] "Sir," said the King to John Adams, on his being presented

The Stamp Act came in 1763. Then the resistance of the people made full proof that they were not to be taxed without their consent. Then came the repeal of that Act, but with a baneful reservation asserting the omnipotence of Parliament. As long as that was authoritatively asserted to be a principle of the English Constitution, so long the contest could not end. The fruit of the season had perished, but the tree remained. Now were coming forward the race of statesmen of whom we have spoken.[1] Men whose souls were in the cause as one of liberty not less than of order and of justice; men who nevertheless perceived that "there is in the support and vindication" of "popular rights and principles a fascination, constantly tending to the adoption of popular prejudices, and to identify the right with the power of the people" — men who perceived, also, that this was an error, and that at all times the voice of the people could not be accepted as the voice of God — men whose talents were not destructive, as those who "see nothing but abuses, and oppressions, and tyrannies to be suppressed," who can "build up nothing," and who have no power to conceive or to maintain institutions of

to him as Minister, "I was the last man in my kingdom to consent to your independence, and I shall be the last to do anything to infringe it."

[1] See *ante*, pp. 48–54.

government.[1] They resisted wrong, maintained the right, and preserved the heritage of their fathers.

The history of those solemn events which succeeded that of which the Stamp Act was only the advance measure, it is not to our purpose to rehearse. It is written in pages which adorn the English tongue, and which testify to other nations that there can be law and order in the midst of revolution — that the public body need not be torn, prostrated, and left as if dead while the demon of oppression is driven out — that when Liberty is on the wing, Crime need not be its associate afoot; and that a people can preserve their liberties without changing ancient foundations or the spirit of their institutions.

There were, it seems to us, two events which, more than others of this crisis, had enlightening, pervading and strengthening effects upon the

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. I, p. 111. "Merely negative teachers are as the wind; they destroy but they cannot build; at their best they do but sweep away the unsubstantial fictions of human fancy or human fraud, but they erect nothing solid in the place of the discarded fictions. Your force was purely relative to the objects of its animosity, and it perished with them. Nay, more: even while they lasted, your force was good for nothing beside the function of destroying them. Such force is like Jehu; it is trenchant energy so long as vengeance has to be wreaked upon the house of Ahab, but it is abject impotence when the time comes for settling the polity of Israel on a sure foundation, and of storing up a legacy of strength and safety for the coming times." — Canon Liddon's *University Sermons.*

American cause. They will necessarily claim our attention because of those effects, and also because one of them brought Alexander Hamilton first into public life. That one was the call for, and the assembling and the acts of, the first Congress, which met at Philadelphia, on September 15, 1774. The other was the conflict of hostile arms called the battle of Bunker Hill, on June 17, 1775. From each of these came prosperous undercurrents, all the more auxiliary because they were abstract and moral rather than physical. The first, by its intelligence, candor, temper, and prudence, excited and retained the admiration of Europe, and its proceedings evinced to all the civilized world that the motives and object of the colonists were right and lawful. The latter relieved determinately the contest from the dishonoring conditions of rebellion, by instantly creating a "state of open and public war," and soon, by common concession, achieving for the colonists the rights and immunities of belligerents. It is necessary that we know the nature and history of those two facts so that we can be able more clearly to understand and appreciate how it was that revolt became respected by intelligent and virtuous minds in America and Europe, even in England itself; and how it was that apparently irreconcilable opinions and passions among the colonists fused into one harmonious, resolute atti-

tude of resistance. It will not be necessary for us to refer again to the political effects of the battle of Bunker Hill. We have here somewhat anticipated the order of that event for the convenience of a connected comment.[1]

The Boston Port Bill was enacted March 31, 1774. It was popularly called by that epithet as denying to it the authenticity of law. Arbitrary, cruel, and impolitic, it brought the controversy which had lasted nearly ten years (1765–1774) to a very practical issue. America would not be the unqualified mart for English fabrics, trade and commerce — would not be passively obedient to taxation without being directly represented in the national councils — would not tolerate the annihilating subjection of the parliamentary omnipotence — would not have her local judiciary the subsidiaries of the English treasury, and solely dependent on the pleasure of the crown for its tenure of office — nor would she allow her inhabitants to be denied the right of trial by jury, to be taken to England, and there tried for offenses charged to have been com-

[1] "The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object was accomplished." — *The Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. 1, p. 691; Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 44, 45.

mitted in the colonies. Therefore it was that the ports were to be by form of law closed until fruit meet for repentance was offered. The Bill bore at once upon the property and the passions of the people. Up to this occurrence the conflict had been simply that of moral and political reasoning within the arena of legal and constitutional methods. The nature of the controversy was radically changing. It was hastening to an appeal to the God of Hosts. The ministerial measures were now to be enforced and maintained by the military arm. General Gage superseding Governor Hutchinson, landed at the Long Dock at Boston, on the 17th of May, 1774. Hutchinson went to England an emissary of discord. Gage turned out to be no improvement upon Hutchinson, as a trustworthy transmitter of correct information to the ministry. He assumed command with the delegated authority of commander-in-chief, and of the governor of the Province of Massachusetts. Never was a government more sadly misled by its agents — never was a ministry more erroneously persistent, after it might have known surely for itself that there was alive a united public opinion more general and unexacted, a spirit more determined and organized, than that which confronted England when the Stamp Act was passed and repealed.[1]

[1] In the Historical Society of the city of New York there is a

It has been, in our own time, made very clear, in the light of the retrospective reflection of history, that the ministry did not see nor appreciate what lay before them in the course which they had marked out for reducing the colonists to subjection. Lord North had assured the Parliament, on the night of March 5, 1767,[1] while

copy in manuscript of a letter from Edmund Burke on the Quebec Bill, written to the Assembly of New York immediately after it was passed by Parliament. Mr. Burke was then and had been for nearly four years the political agent of the colony, and had opposed this bill in all its stages, and the letter contains a history of its progress and of his efforts to prevent its passage. Mr. Burke's correspondence with the Assembly of New York, during his agency (December, 1770, to April, 1775), it is said by Mr. Sparks, (*Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. I, p. 51), has never been published. This correspondence does not appear in any publication of his writings in England, and no part of it is known to exist in this country, except the letter which is above mentioned. See as to the policy and acts of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Tudor's *Life of Otis*, pp. 424–433. There was perhaps no single officer of the British government in America who contributed more to produce the separation of the colonies from England than this person. Sparks says again, at p. 45, vol. I, of his *Life of Gouverneur Morris:* "In the public offices in London I have been favored with the perusal of all the original dispatches of General Gage to the government, while he had command of the British forces in Boston. . . . . General Gage seems to have deceived himself at all points, and to have been unaccountably ignorant of the state of public feeling and opinion in the colonies, and of the progress that was making in the preparations for union and resistance. The ministry depended on the information communicated by him, and laid their plans accordingly. After knowing the nature and substance of his communications, the wonder at the extraordinary measures pursued during the first stages of the contest is much diminished."

[1] John Dickinson's famous *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*

the act to tax certain articles when imported into the colonies was debated, that the colonists were yielding. That assurance was what persuaded the large majority by which the act was passed. The King, in his earliest note to Lord North, when he became prime minister, wrote that a little spirit would do everything, and "it was all that was needed to restore order to his service." Franklin heard from the gallery of the House of Commons the debate on that occasion, and what Lord North uttered. But he still adhered to the ways of conciliation, and discouraged all tendencies that might lessen the unity and strength of the British Empire in America.

Before the year 1770 it was settled that the opinions and interests of the colonists should be more intelligently and respectably represented in England. Important persons of the colonies felt confident that the policy which the Ministry was putting into operation could proceed from nothing but the absence of proper information. It was supposed that the Ministry would not recklessly venture upon a dangerous display of absolute power. Thus it was taken to be commendable and necessary, to the end that peace might be preserved and that the Ministry might be advised to retire from their undue proceedings, that evidence of this unity of opinion, general spirit of

were published at the close of the year 1767, to prove that the minister was mistaken in this opinion.

resistance, and disposition for reconciliation should be conspicuously and convincingly given to England and to the civilized world. And thus it was, that, in the year 1770, Franklin, then in England, was appointed the accredited agent of the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts. He had been appointed on the 7th of the preceding December to a similar office by the State of New Jersey. The great philosophic orator and statesman, Edmund Burke, was appointed its agent by the Province of New York. There were, others associated with them in a common mission to furnish accurate information to the government and people of England concerning the claims and conciliatory disposition of the colonists.[1] James Otis had again, a short time before, spoken with his usual candor the prevalent opinion. In a letter written by him to Mr. Arthur Jones, November 26, 1768, he said: —

"I am and have been long concerned more for Great Britain than for the colonies. You may ruin yourselves, but you cannot in the end ruin the colonies. Our fathers were a good people, we have been a free people, and if you will not let us remain so any longer, we shall be a great people; and the present measures can have no tendency but to hasten, with great rapidity, events which every good and honest man would wish delayed for ages; if possible, prevented forever."[2]

[1] The agents were Paul Wentworth, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, William Bollan, Dr. Arthur Lee, Thomas Life, Edmund Burke, and Charles Garth. — *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress of* 1774, p. 118.

[2] Tudor's *Life of Otis*, p. 35.

Franklin, Burke, and the other representatives were instructed to persevere so as to avoid the resort to armed resistance, and its inevitable sequence, separation from the Crown. The frequently repeated resolves of the colony assemblies showed, in the mean time, that they knew their rights, and would not lose sight of them. There were, of course, accompanying the progression of affairs, the customary coteries of warm and inconveniently active spirits, the usual honest blockhead, the unappeasable patriot; and these furnished instances from which the censures of those opposed seemed to be sustainable. The colonial cause was not exempt from common frailty. But the authentic public movements were then, and to the last, firmly held in hand by those men who were above the vulgar rapture and license of revolt. Those men did not yield to the passion of the moment. They felt as others felt, but let discretion tutor indignation. Indeed, they yet fondly clung to the hope that when the King and Ministry had their understanding convinced that it was not a few malcontents, but really the elements of a new nation, that were placed in an attitude not sought by the colonists, reasonable and acceptable methods of conciliation with America would be adopted. The letters written by Governor Hutchinson and others had been transmitted by Franklin to Mas-

sachusetts, and had been made public by order of the General Court. Those had told the story how the official representatives of the Crown in America were making a profligate use of their trust to aid their own individual schemes of ambition. But should King and Ministry continue heedless, then the ultimate appeal remained to the People of England.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that Burke had, in his place in Parliament, finally to tell the Commons that "invention was exhausted, reason was fatigued, experience had given judgment, but obstinacy was not yet conquered,"[1] — notwithstanding that of the innumerable petitions and agents sent to the government few were received and none deigned to be answered, — notwithstanding that Franklin, in London, on his mission of peace and petition for justice, had been insulted by Wedderburn in the face of the British Ministry,[2] — notwithstanding that the Boston Port Bill was put in operation and a military power present there to uphold and enforce its action, — notwithstanding that the Ministry manifested its determination so unmistakably to prevail at all points

[1] Exordium to his speech on American Taxation, delivered April 19, 1774.

[2] January 29, 1774. The famous hearing at "The Cockpit" on the Governor Hutchinson petition will be found best related in the second volume, page 189, of *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by the Hon. John Bigelow, late our Minister to France.

and at all hazards — yet one more and most comprehensive effort would now be made, and by at least a united America, to avert the impending common sacrifice.

As the English Ministry and their adherents continued to declare the belief that the opposition to their measures arose mainly from ambitious, self-seeking, and turbulent political adventurers, who were abusing the public weal and peace to their own disloyal ends, so they professed also to believe that the numerous expressions of loyalty to the King and devotion to the unity and prosperity of the British Empire in America were not sincere. Though those who uttered the expressions were the most reputable in their several communities, yet it was charged that they were intended to mislead and betray; and it was asseverated that an earnest and unequivocal exhibition of menacing power by the government would soon disclose to the world that such was really the fact. This supercilious, even if misconceived, spirit had been already, and was to be again and again, met with defiance and resistance. It was not the Boston Tea-Party alone that suited the action to its word, the word to its action. Goethe[1] classed the action among the prodigious events which stamped themselves most deeply on the mind of

[1] Goethe's *Briefe*, III., 1420, 1421, quoted in Bancroft's *History of the United States.*

his childhood. New York,[1] Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, showed that Massachusetts was not to be alone in its practical way of solving the problem. It was due nevertheless to the real sincerity of American desire for conciliation — it was due to Chatham, who had publicly "rejoiced" in the House of Lords "that the colonies resisted" — it was due to the Duke of Richmond, Camden, Fox, and other illustrious Englishmen, who openly sustained the resistance as just and constitutional, and who acknowledged and declared that the colonists were acting under the sanction and in support of the principles of English liberty — it was due to a decent respect for the good opinion of other nations, that all America should at length assemble in one council, and specifically declare the general grievances; make manifest that the resistance was not the evil work of a few, but came from the widespread conviction of wrong felt by a whole country; claim that every British subject born on the continent of America, or in

[1] April 18, 1774, *The Nancy*, tea-ship, arrived near New York. A sloop with a body of men were sent to watch the vessel at Sandy Hook. Four days after, another vessel came in with a small cargo of tea; a number of citizens at eight P. M. took the cargo and threw it into the sea. Persons of good reputation superintended the affair. Two hours, and all had quietly gone to their homes; but the next day the bells were rung and a large meeting was held at the liberty-pole. — Dunlap's *History of New York*, vol. 1, pp. 452, 453. As to the general policy of this course see *Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, pp. 323–325.

any other part of the British dominions, is, by the law of God and nature, by the common law, and by act of Parliament, entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent and inseparable rights of fellow-subjects in Great Britain; and, with dignified firmness and conciliatory temper, by a grand remonstrance and petition, ask the King and Parliament, aye, the People of England, to remove, and cease forever to impose, those and like burdens unknown to the law.

This thought was not peculiar to any one colony. It seems to have been the somewhat general wish.[1] Franklin, now become the political agent of Pennsylvania and Georgia in addition to his former agencies, had the year before (July 7, 1773) sent an official letter to Massachusetts, advising that a general congress of all the colonies assemble. He had said: —

"As the strength of an empire depends not only on the union of its parts, but on their readiness for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unreasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as . . . . want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress, that might otherwise be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a general congress now in peace to be assembled, or by means of the correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with

[1] *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, by Sparks, vol. 1, p. 23, note, and Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 326.

each other, that they will never grant aids to the Crown in any general war, till those rights are recognized by the King and both houses of Parliament; communicating at the same time to the Crown this their resolution. Such a step, I imagine, will bring the dispute to a crisis."[1]

Heretofore, the interchange of opinions and sympathy had been conducted by committees of correspondence. It was thought well that the chief men should gather and reason together. The city of New York anticipated all other places and was in act the first to propose "a general congress."[2] The twelve colonies, which were spread over the vast space from Nova Scotia to Georgia, had already taken alarm and united in appointing delegates, "with authority and direction to meet and consult together for the common welfare." Such a congress, it was agreed by those colonies, should meet at Philadelphia on Monday, the 5th of September, 1774.

The election in the city of New York for delegates to that congress produced the first and the last struggle there between the "Sons of Liberty"

[1] Sparks' *Life of Franklin*, vol. 1, p. 350.

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 40, 76, 77. Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, in his excellent *History of the Constitution*, on page 11, however, says, that "the first actual step towards this measure was taken in Virginia." By which is, undoubtedly, meant the first step by a legislative body. The first movement in that direction by the people and in order of time came, as stated in the text, from New York city. And see Rives' *Life of Madison*, vol. 1, pp. 56–60, for the proceedings in the Virginia Assembly.

and those who, though truly devoted as any others to the cause, were temperate and wished to avoid over-zeal. While all seemed willing to support Massachusetts in the resistance which it was then making, few in New York were disposed to incur or encourage armed rebellion. New York was a cosmopolitan city, and did not, as uniformly as Boston, march all one way. Now it was Isaac Sears, a man unselfish, patriotic, zealous and indiscreet, that sent the letter from the New York committee of vigilance to Boston on receiving intelligence of the passage of the Boston Port Bill. He promised measures of sympathy and support from the people of New York, which excited no small anxiety in those who wished well and were more capable of doing good. Prudent men became wary and others almost hostile; and many of great intellectual and moral weight were changed to, or were confirmed in, opinions not favorable to the methods of redress followed in Massachusetts. Among those in New York who were most pronounced in opposition were Gouverneur Morris and Samuel Seabury, — the latter name to become known and venerated more than once in the American church and honored in both hemispheres. Each of these names is charactered in events, second to none other in the history of the country in importance and inherent power of unceasing development. Both of these eminent per-

sons will require our attention at future stages. But it may be as well to say here that their mental and moral traits and principles were very different. Neither is to be classed with the popular favorites. Yet each was successful. Popularity is not fame, — popularity is not power. Each reached, in the direct path of duty and honor, and fully accomplished, that which might well have been the absorbing object of a life's ambition. In the individuality of Seabury the Bishopric of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was begun, and that long and bitter controversy ended;[1] and it was Gouverneur Morris who, having potently aided in the creation and formation of the Constitution of the United States of America, arranged, by special request, the clauses and gave the final literary finish to its provisions, and that in a sense which justified him in claiming to be its "author."[2] Seabury formed his opinions slowly, and upon what seemed to his reason and conscience immutable principles; he remained, until peace was declared and the in-

[1] Tudor's *Life of Otis*, pp. 136–160; Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*, pp. 127–144; Bishop White's *Memoir of the Prot. Epis. Church in the United States;* and *The Works of George Berkeley, D. D.*, vol. 3, p. 218 (Oxford edition of 1851, by Fraser). The first See of the Church of England established in any of the British Colonies was that of Nova Scotia, in 1787, three years after Bishop Seabury's consecration.

[2] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 283–286, and vol. 3, p. 323.

dependence of America acknowledged, faithful to the Crown; then his love of native land exemplified itself in a no less faithful and energetic devotion to her spiritual welfare. Morris modified the original disposition of his mind with the changing political conditions of the country, and served it ever after faithfully through a long life of various and important duty.

Yet there was one, among many others, who came from the better and moderate ranks of society prominently into public life at this crisis. Men see in his advent at this moment one of those desired incidents which reverent minds are accustomed to ascribe to a special Providence. It was the son-in-law of William Livingston, the illustrious John Jay. He was in the twenty-ninth year of his age. Pure, courageous, prudent, patient, direct and forcible in dealing with all questions, he became the acknowledged leader, at and for this period, of the sober and safe thought of the community. He belonged to that powerful order of men who, at this critical pass in public affairs, gave character to the new nation, and made it to be of good repute and high esteem abroad in foreign lands. Always boldly right, he left extremes at either hand. We shall have many occasions to recur to his public history and personal individuality.

There was then in active and efficient exist-

ence in the city of New York another body of citizens called the Committee of Correspondence. Its purpose was to evince the reasonable, matured opinion of their own fellow-citizens; to bring into united counsel with them the dwellers in the other counties of the colony, and to promote general intelligent action and orderly conduct. This committee was made up of fifty-one members, and they, when the news came that the Bill closing the port of Boston was to be enforced, were transformed, May 16, 1774, into a committee for the public defense. But it was thought by the more zealous, some being members of the committee, that its directory was not proceeding fast enough nor far enough to answer the urgent needs of the cause. Many, as zealously-minded, saw that in the original formation of this committee prominent persons of their way of thinking were purposely left out. It was evidently the intention that the leaders of the popular party should not be allowed to have control.[1] Still, July 4, following, the committee, yielding to the pressure of a popular sentiment, agreed to resolve that five persons be named by the committee to meet at general congress, at a time and place which should be selected by the colonies; and that the freeholders and freemen of the city

[1] *Life and Times of Gen. John Lamb*, p. 91; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 40, 41, 78; *Life of Van Schaack*, pp. 16, 17.

of New York be summoned to ratify or disapprove of the nominations. On behalf of the advocates of strong and decisive measures, Sears moved that Alexander M'Dougall, James Duane, Isaac Low, Philip Livingston, and John Morine Scott be the nominees. Sears' scheme was in part defeated; and John Jay, James Duane, Philip Livingston, John Alsop, and Isaac Low were nominated, and a meeting of the citizens called to act upon the nominations.

Sears and M'Dougall, and their adherents, regarded this defeat as the triumph of the ministerial side; that side so esteemed it and imprudently displayed their joy;[1] but the committee it-

[1] Rivington, the publisher, wrote an unwise letter to a friend in Boston; this extract of which was sent from there to John Lamb: "The power over our crowd is no longer in the hands of Sears, Lamb, and such unimportant persons, who have for six years past been the demagogues of a very turbulent faction in this city; but their power and mischievous capacity expired instantly upon the election of the Committee of Fifty-one, in which there is a majority of inflexible, honest, loyal, and prudent citizens." — *Life of Gen. John Lamb*, p. 91. Lieutenant-governor Colden had written to the Earl of Dartmouth, on June 1, 1774, to a like effect: "They dissolved the former committee, and appointed a new one of fifty-one persons; in which care was taken to have a number of the most prudent and considerate people of the place. Some of them have not before joined the public proceedings of the opposition, and were induced to appear in what they are sensible is an illegal character from a consideration that, if they did not, the business would be left in the same rash hands as before." — Force's *American Archives* (4th series), vol. 1, p. 372. It would have been better for the success of the ministerial designs had "the

self kept steadily on, regardless of such incidents, preserving power and gathering strength. To anticipate that meeting, called for the 7th, and to influence its action upon the nominations there to be presented, those who felt they were denied the right, as leaders, to be consulted determined upon an independent demonstration. They, the same day, called a meeting of citizens for Wednesday, the 6th of July, "in the fields."[1] Printed announcements were posted, and hand-bills circulated plentifully throughout the town.[2] A great concourse gathered. The numerous attendance of mechanics showed the popular preference.

Alexander M'Dougall had been arrested, in December, 1769, and committed to prison, charged with the authorship of "a seditious libel." The effect of the proceeding was unfortunate for the government. He was taken on a bench-warrant before the Chief Justice. "You have brought yourself into a pretty scrape," said his lordship. "That," answered M'Dougall, "must be judged of by my peers." "There is full proof you are the author of an infamous and seditious libel."

business" been "left in the same rash hands." Only one of the delegates (Mr. Alsop) chosen to the Congress from New York fell away from the cause, even when the appeal to arms was at last made.

[1] Now the Park.

[2] Some of these hand-bills are preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

"This," replied M'Dougall, "must also be tried by my peers." It was the principle, again, of the Zenger case.[1] The government had unwittingly made a martyr and a popular hero, and no vulgar hero either. Popular demonstrations were numerous and significant. At a time when aristocratic exclusiveness was most strict, the prison of M'Dougall, a man of the people, was thronged by admirers from the leading social ranks, and by ladies of the first distinction in the community; and from that prison he poured forth to a sympathizing people appeals filled with pertinent thoughts clothed in acceptable language. The prosecution was declared similar, in its violation of the right of free speech, to that of John Wilkes for publishing the 45th number of the "North Briton;" but M'Dougall, unlike Wilkes, was pure, and had the respect of all. He had been released on bail, and so his imprisonment had ended;[2] but not his popularity nor influence. The people regarded him a patriot, and remembered that he had suffered in the cause of civil liberty.

A general meeting of citizens was held, and M'Dougall was chosen to preside. Dissatisfaction at the seemingly temporizing policy of the Committee of Fifty-one prevailed among those

[1] Howell's *State Trials*, vol. 17, p. 675.

[2] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 18, 19; and *Life of John Lamb*, pp. 61–63.

who attended. No verbal report of the proceedings of the meeting, none beyond the resolves, was made at the time. But tradition has vividly brought down to us the contemporary fame of one address. It was the last, and the briefest. Its effect upon the subject and upon the fame of the speaker reminds us of that made by Somers in the case of the Seven Bishops, which, though coming last, was preferred to those that went before.[1] The meeting had drawn to its close. Hamilton was among the auditors. It would be unreasonable to suppose that Hercules Mulligan was not there also; perhaps with him. Hamilton was affiliating with the "Sons of Liberty."[2] His relations with William Livingston, John Mason, John Rodgers, and particularly with his host, Hercules Mulligan, put him in frequent intercourse with those of that inclining. King's College stood almost within the sound of the voices

[1] "Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes, but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sate down his reputation as an orator, and a constitutional lawyer was established." — Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 270.

[2] A history of this organization is contained in the *Life of Gen. John Lamb*, pp. 2–4, 8, 99; and there Hamilton is spoken of, with Lamb, Sears, Willett, and M'Dougall, as among its active members. See, also, Dunlap's *History of New York*, vol. 1, p. 452. The association originated in 1765, soon after the passage of the Stamp Act, and was extended throughout the colonies. New York was its central post. It ceased, without any formal disbandment, in 1774, when the famous Committee of Fifty-one superseded all other like bodies.

of those who spoke at the meeting. The young collegians were debating among themselves the merits of the issues between America and Great Britain, and none more earnestly and anxiously than they. Dr. Myles Cooper, a graduate of Oxford, the president of the college, was then, and remained to the end, friendly to the party of the Crown. Hamilton had, until the preceding spring, strongly tended the same way. He himself relates that he had previously formed and entertained "strong prejudices on the ministerial side, until he became convinced by the superior force of the arguments in favor of the colonial claims."[1] The habit of his mind, his chief social connections in New York, the ruling temper of polite society there at that period, and his reverence for the principles of the English constitution, all conjoined to produce such a tendency. He had the propitious advantages of an educated and refined society, and of sincere and powerful friends. What he heard and saw had led him to study the history and principles of the whole controversy. He had done it with his habitual research and reflection. He speedily became master of its fact and its philosophy, as well as of a clear and authentic knowledge of the resolutions and acts of the British Parliament relating to America subsequent to the peace of 1763

[1] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 25.

and of the series of devices and proceedings of the British ministry to enforce them. His recent inquiries among the people had convinced him of the fixed determination by which those acts were to be met on the part of the people of all the colonies. He became convinced that passive obedience was not an English doctrine, and that the colonists were none other than perfect British subjects, and, as such, entitled to the rights and immunities of their fellow subjects in England. Therefore was Hamilton at that meeting in the open fields and in ardent sympathy with its general intent. He was overheard saying that they who spoke had not entirely unfolded the subject. He was a stranger, a young collegian, known to a few there as the studious, slight figure who walked, and mused, and muttered to himself among the trees in Batteau Street. Under an impulse of the occasion he ascended the hustings. With calm, earnest words he held the attention of the people. The substance of what he said is not preserved; but it was remembered by men who lived within our day that the people marvelled at the eloquence and mature sense of that which the unknown youth said. His speech was marked by the qualities of his later time, — deliberateness, clearness, warmth, and reason. From thence Hamilton, then seventeen years old,

was a public and notable man. The work of his life was upon him.[1]

The resolves adopted by the meeting were bold and explicit. The Boston Port Bill was denounced; the people of Boston were acknowledged as suffering in a cause involving the liberties of America; non-importation and non-exportation were insisted upon as the surest available means by which American interests could be guarded while the English mandate kept closed the port of Boston; and it was directed that the delegates to the proposed congress be instructed to vote for a suspension of all importations from Great Britain until the tyranny be past.[2]

The Committee of Fifty-one met, in pursuance of its previous announcement, on the 7th. The

[1] Some have recently professed incredulity to the writer as to this speech having been made, because the kind of tried men who had the meeting in charge would not have hazarded that an unknown person, and he so young, should address it. But the audience were mainly mechanics, and a collegian among them could not be an unwelcome auxiliary. Again, it is said, no mention of the speech is to be found in the newspapers of that day, — neither is there of any other of the speakers; nothing but the resolves. — Holt's *New York Journal*, of Thursday, July 7, 1774, and *The New York Gazette*, July 11, 1774, in the Society Library of the city of New York. The story was current during the lifetime of many who were there, was never contradicted by any of them, and has been related by some of Hamilton's contemporaries, including his fellow-collegian and life-long friend, Colonel Nicholas Fish, with a particularity belonging to an actual witness of the scene.

[2] These resolves are printed in full in Force's *American Archives* (4th series), vol. 1, p. 312, and in the two newspapers above cited.

meeting "in the fields" was condemned and its proceedings disapproved by an official action of the committee, at which thirty members were present. Twenty-one voted in favor of the condemnatory resolves, and nine dissented. Those nine at once withdrew from the committee, and the following day, three others, who were not at that sitting, withdrew also. The proceedings of the meeting "in the fields" had been communicated to Boston by M'Dougall and others. So this committee, now lessened in number, called upon the people to assemble at the Coffee House on the 19th. The growing power of the popular element was apparent, and equally the mischief likely to be started by its ill-regulated fervor. The citizens assembled at the Coffee House; the committee proposed resolutions and candidates for the delegation to the congress. The citizens rejected two of the candidates, and denounced the resolutions as "destitute of vigor, sense, and integrity." The committee had met its first defeat. Yet its purpose and spirit were not impaired. The citizens then determined to make an appeal themselves to the People, and they appointed a special committee to draft resolves more expressive of feelings and opinions becoming the true state of the colonial cause, and to have the People appoint the delegates. Jay, who had been very remiss in his attendance until the rupture in

the committee, was present now, and was named a member of that special committee; but the day after this he declined to act,[1] because it was appointed without previous notice to the People, and was no part of the specified business for which the meeting of the 19th had been called. He thought his appointment not regular; that it, besides, cast censure upon the committee of correspondence, and led to breaking the ranks at a time when peace, unity, and concord were needed first of all. Therein we have an instance of the application of a principle which Jay ever enforced, and of his care that regular organization should be sustained and respected. Jay advised in his public career the need and efficacy, whenever a new delegation of authority was requested, of always going again to the People as the true source of power. We are careful to mark its first assertion by him; for when it came, in the course of events, to inaugurate a National Constitution he would have that founded solely upon the will of the People; while Hamilton advocated an expedient, by which the People, admitted to be the source of original authority, should be invoked, and yet by which the prescribed method of the articles of the confederation would be pursued. This difference as to the means of reaching a common end signifies two schools in politics.

[1] *Life of John Jay*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 26, 27.

The committee were then regularly appointed. The rejected resolutions were amended. Jay believed that England might still be reconciled to a lawful course, and the dispute adjusted. The resolutions now declared that all acts of the British Parliament imposing taxes on the colonies were unjust and unconstitutional; that the Boston Port Act was arbitrary in its principles, oppressive in its exactions, subversive of British liberty; and that the destruction of the tea was not the motive for bringing such distress on the people of Boston by an act of Parliament, but was, in truth, the asseveration and enforcement of the right of taxation over the colonies. They further declared that nothing less than dire necessity could justify the colonists' uniting, or compel them to engage, in any measure which might materially injure their brethren, the manufacturers, traders, and merchants in Great Britain; but that the preservation of their inestimable rights and liberties, as enjoyed and handed down to them by their ancestors, ought to supersede all other considerations; and hence, they did not doubt that the People of England would, on mature deliberation, not only applaud their motive, but coöperate with them in all constitutional measures to obtain the redress of their grievances. This put the case candidly and strongly. These sentiments met with approval almost universal. The

policy of non-importation, was gaining ground The election for delegates to the Continental Congress proceeded: and John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, and John Alsop were unanimously elected, on July 28, 1774.[1] Even Isaac Sears was pleased. But the tide of affairs in New York did not move swiftly nor high enough for him, and he betook himself soon after to the adjoining colony of Connecticut, where he joined other spirits similarly disposed. His old associates fell generally into the more orderly way which now took the lead and control; and so passed away the "Sons of Liberty," in the city of New York.

It has been said, and repeated, that Hamilton made a visit to Boston early in the spring of 1774.[2] The story does not appear to us probable. It perhaps owes its origin to his having been there in October, 1772, when on his way from St. Croix to New York. He was this spring deeply engaged in collegiate duties. We know how faithful he was to duty, and how rigorously he im-

[1] *Life of John Jay*, by his son, vol. I, pp. 27–29: and Governor Colden, writing a few days after the election to the Earl of Dartmouth, said that if the "government had interfered, the most violent men would have gained great advantage, and would have prevented the acquiescence in the nomination of moderate men, which has now taken place, to meet at the General Congress of deputies from all the colonies, proposed to be held at Philadelphia, next month." — *American Archives*, vol. I, p. 669.

[2] *Life of Hamilton*, by his son, vol. I, p. 25.

pressed its obligations in the remarkable letter to Edward Stevens.[1] No object appears for which such a visit was required. But the biographical value of the incident should be, that it would have brought him to the centralized spot, where the questions of colonial rights and of resistance to the English Ministry were most elaborately and contentiously debated. It was not requisite to be in Boston to be within Boston influence. That had spread over the whole country. From the time of the argument of Otis in the matter of the Writs of Assistance;[2] from that, when he vindicated the conduct of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay;[3] from that, when he asserted and proved the rights of the colonies;[4] from that, when he advised the Province of

[1] *Ante*, p. 159.

[2] February, 1761. The argument will be found in Minot's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. 2, pp. 91–106; in *Otis' Life*, by Tudor, pp. 62–90; and in Quincy's *Reports*, p. 471.

[3] 1762. "How many volumes," says John Adams, "are concentrated in this little fugitive pamphlet. . . . . Look at the Declarations of Rights and Wrongs, issued by Congress, in 1774. Look into the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Look into the writings of Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley. . . . . What can you find that is not to be found in solid substance in this vindication?" The title, of this pamphlet is *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay: more particularly in the last session of the General Assembly*, printed, Boston, 1762.

[4] *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, by James Otis. London, reprinted for G. Almon, 1764. It was men-

Massachusetts to meet in New York other committees from the other colonial assemblies "to consult together" and "consider of a united representation to implore relief," and helped to form the compact moral force which nullified and led to the repeal of the Stamp Act;[1] from that, when John Adams, with intrepidity and success, controverted the arguments by which Governor Hutchinson proclaimed the omnipotence of Parliament;[2] from that, when he, with like courage, detailed and explained the doctrine and history of the essentiality of an independent judiciary, vindicated its worth, and induced its general adoption into the organic laws of his own and other

tioned in the debates in Parliament, and there commented upon by Lords Mansfield and Littleton, in February, 1766.

[1] 1765. "In this measure, it is impossible not to perceive the seminal principle of the subsequent union of the North American British colonies; nor can it be doubted that the credit of having originated it is exclusively due to James Otis." — Charles Francis Adams, in his careful, well-worded, and judicious *Life of John Adams*, his grandfather, vol. 1, pp. 94–96; Dunlap's *History of New York*, vol. 1, pp. 415, 423, 424.

[2] This was, perhaps, the most remarkable discussion which preceded the Revolution. Elbridge Gerry, afterwards vice-president of the United States of America, and who had been a fellow-member with Adams of the same General Court and in the secrets of the popular party, in a letter of reminiscences, ascribes its authorship to John Adams, as a fact well known to him. Indeed, the series of papers reported by the committee of that assembly are among the wisest and most masterly state-papers of the time of the American Revolution. There can be no preparatory study more useful for a public man than the whole of those productions of which these are a part.

states;[1] — Boston was present in potential spirit throughout the land. This was the influence on which young Hamilton fed. Yet that influence must wait for its plenitude of power in the other colonies. That which is not seen is the living energy; that which is seen, as the flower and glory of perfected nature, has fulfilled its end.

People in New York looked askant as Massachusetts views were mentioned. When John Adams, then in his thirty-ninth year, arrived in New York city, on August 20, 1774, with his fellow-delegates,[2] on their way to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia, he felt that he entered a political atmosphere some degrees less warm than he had become accustomed to. Massachusetts had sent the delegates forth with great manifestations of approval, and Connecticut had borne them through its length with delighted acceptance. New York, indeed, had put her thinking-cap on. She meant to be slow in hastening an irrevocable crisis. "Phil. Livingston," one of the delegates from New York, "a great, rough, rapid

[1] *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, pp. 328–332, and vol. 3, p. 187. This discussion afterwards enlightened the convention of Massachusetts, in 1779, and its idea was embodied in the Constitution then formed for that Commonwealth. The State of New York had, before that, put a provision to the like effect in its Constitution of 1777; and in 1787, it found its appropriate place in the National Constitution.

[2] Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine.

mortal, ... seems to dread New England, the levelling spirit, etc. Hints were thrown out of the Goths and Vandals. Mention was made of hanging the Quakers, etc.;" and M'Dougall gave John Adams "a caution, to avoid every expression which looked like an allusion to the last appeal;" and he said there was a party which is "intimidated lest the levelling spirit of the New England colonists should propagate itself into New York."[1] The "opulent hospitality" with which John Adams was treated while in New York did not soften his anger at the want of confidence which observably existed.[2] Time was soon to bring him its compensation. "I suppose we must go to Philadelphia," he had said to his colleague Samuel Adams, "and enter into non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreements. But they will be of no avail. We shall have to resist by force."[3] He had hailed, nevertheless, the prospect which lay before his imagination and hope. He welcomed the coming Congress, and at moments and in ways that must allow his sincerity to be above doubt. He wrote in his diary, on June 20, 1774: —

"There is a new and grand scene open before me: a Congress. This will be an assembly of the wisest men upon the continent who are American in principle, that is, against the

[1] *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, pp. 164–185, 350, 351

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[3] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 209.

taxation of Americans by authority of Parliament. I feel myself unequal to this business. A more extensive knowledge of the realm, the colonies, and of commerce, as well as of law and policy is necessary, than I am master of. What can be done? Deliberations alone will not do. The ideas of the people are as various as their faces. One thinks, no more petitions — former having been neglected and despised; some are for resolves, spirited resolves; and some are for bolder counsels." — "I wander alone and ponder. I muse, I mope, I ruminate. I am often in reveries and brown studies. The objects before me are too grand and multifarious for my comprehension."[1]

The Congress was "the step" to bring "the dispute to a crisis."[2]

In such disposition all of the Massachusetts delegation departed from New York. On Thursday, August 25, the day before his departure, John Adams visited the King's College. He was shown "the library, the books and curiosities." He was "then introduced to Dr. Clossey, who was exhibiting a course of experiments to his pupils to prove the elasticity of the air."[3] Alexander Hamilton was a member of that class. He and Adams were not to know each other at this time, nor for many years, and then to know and dislike each the other as political antagonists.

The delegates passed on through New Jersey. What they heard on their way did not lessen the

[1] *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 338.

[2] See Benjamin Franklin's letter, *ante*, p. 208.

[3] *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 353.

reasons already perceived for prudent conduct and circumspection. At Princeton, renowned for its learning and already conspicuous for its sympathy with the colonies, "they were told to be wary as they drew nearer to Philadelphia."[1] At Frankfort, a place five miles from that city, they were met by some gentlemen "ostensibly to do them honor, but really in part to apprise them exactly of the suspicions afloat respecting them. The cry . . . . was, that the Massachusetts men were aiming at nothing short of independence; even the calm spirit of Washington had been troubled by it."[2] It had, in truth, become but too intelligible that the strong will in Massachusetts desired independent governance in all colonial affairs; and, if it should be necessary to attain this object, entire political separation from England. The minds of many leading men there had grown to this; perhaps not as their first wish, but as the inevitable conclusion which would be forced by the ministerial policy upon the colonies at last. But such thoughts, especially when involving separation from the mother country, were long regarded with suspicious dread. The peculiar strength of Massachusetts, therefore, was, that she came there to stand before the assembly as

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210. Consult Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 136–152, as to efforts to avert independence.

one who suffered in a special and greater degree for the common cause. She was bearing the heat and burden, and the personal danger, of resistance. Five other supplementary bills had rapidly followed the Boston Port Bill.[1] These were purposely directed against Massachusetts. Yet they were founded upon and asserted a principle which involved the liberty of all the colonies. So stood Massachusetts in the presence of her sister colonies: "capable to stand" alone, and "free to fall," if that should be her fate. And still she held her own convictions of the efficacy of any conciliatory proposals; "she would speak the

[1] "The first abrogated the clauses of the Massachusetts Charter, giving the election of the Council to the House of Representatives, and practically abolished town meetings; it also transferred the power of appointing the sheriffs to the executive, and to the sheriffs it intrusted the return of juries. A second measure, known as the Quebec Act, extended the boundaries of Canada, so as to include the region on the Ohio and the Mississippi, the area of the present States of Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Over this enormous territory it established the rule of a military governor and a nominated council. The ministers who proposed and defended the bill hardly concealed their hope that the Roman Catholic population of Canada would allow itself to be used as an instrument to overawe the Protestant settlers in New England. . . . . A third measure transferred the place of trial of civil officers and soldiers, indicted for any capital offense committed in supporting the revenue laws or in suppressing riots, to Great Britain. Two other acts legalized the quartering of troops within Boston or any other town. All these measures were passed by large majorities; and a proposal of Edmund Burke, on the 19th of April, 1774, to repeal the Tea Duty, was contemptuously rejected." — *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. 2, pp. 305, 306.

truth, write the truth, but would force the truth on no one."

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 5th of September the delegates from the colonies met at the City Tavern. Two places were offered for the use of the Congress. The delegates proceeded in a body to the Carpenters' Hall, and selected that; though the State House, the other place offered, was equally convenient. Policy dictated the choice.[1] It implied an acknowledgment of the power and patriotism of the mechanic classes. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected President, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, Secretary. Each represented most influential phases of public opinion. The proceedings of the body were secret. They styled themselves "the delegates appointed by the good People of these Colonies," and spoke of themselves in official letters as "the guardians of the rights and liberties of the Colonies."[2] They did not take upon themselves the functions of government, nor propose revolution. In their purpose it was to be "a revolution," as Edmund Burke says, "prevented rather than effected." There was disclosed a general harmony among the members in thought as

[1] *Memoirs of James Duane;* in the *Documentary History of New York*, vol. 4, p. 407.

[2] Letter of the Congress to General Gage, October 10, 1774 *Journal of Congress*, pp. 25, 26.

to the right and necessity of resisting; but opinions varied concerning the kind of opposition to be used. Reconciliation was believed by the greater number to be probable: and those were willing to trust again to respectful yet manly reasoning of remonstrances. Others, like the two Adamses, had no faith, but were willing to assist to make the effort. But, whatever the diversities of sentiments and wishes, "the paramount idea, which kept all the passions within a clearly defined circle, was the absolute necessity of union. The fear of hazarding that, equally stimulated the timid and restrained the bold."[1] Whatever contentious debates were inside the hall, the public ear and eye met with unanimous conclusions only. Wherefore it was that, though their acts had not the foundation of laws, the general adoption of their acts "gave them a power that laws rarely possess."[2] In this council the names of Washington, Henry, Edmund Pendleton, John Rutledge, Jay, Roger Sherman, Dickinson, and John Adams, first came into national importance. Europe learned their worth; and the moderation and spirit and unity and strength of America was made manifest.

We do not purpose to relate the inner history of the "first Congress." It is sufficient for our

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 215, 216.

[2] Curtis' *History of the Constitution*, vol. 1, p. 25.

purpose that we show the issues of its deliberation, and the effect which they had in impelling the minds of the colonists to present an unbroken front of lawful and constitutional opposition to unlawful and unconstitutional proceedings.

It will be borne in mind, by those in any ordinary degree acquainted with the history of this noble event, that it sent forth special addresses, the chief sum of its labors, which had an immediate effect upon the country. They were four in number: that to the People of Great Britain;[1] that to the Inhabitants of the several Colonies;[2] that to the King;[3] and that to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec.[4] Before the final adjournment, which was on the 26th of October, 1774, Congress removed the order of secrecy; directed that its Journal be sent to the press and printed for public circulation; but the address to the King was enclosed in a letter to Franklin, Burke, and the other colony agents in London, desiring them to "deliver the petition into the hands of his Majesty," and, after it had been presented, to make it "public through the press, together with the list of grievances;" "to call in the aid of such noblemen and gentlemen as were esteemed firm friends to America;" and "that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible,

[1] October 21. [2] October 21. [3] October 25.
[4] October 26, and on passing this the Congress adjourned.

to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns, throughout the United Kingdom, with our memorial to the People of Great Britain." The letter, also, informing the agents that another Congress was proposed to be held on the 10th of the ensuing May, asks them to transmit to the Speakers of the several colonial assemblies "the earliest information of the most authentic accounts . . . . of all such conduct and designs of Ministry and Parliament as it may concern America to know."[1] Judged by the requirements of the occasion, which called for their production, these addresses must remain forever monuments of wisdom, appropriate reasoning, and decorous eloquence.

The authorship of the address to the People of Great Britain and of that to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec was for some time disputed, as is frequently the case where several persons of known ability are engaged upon one work. John Jay is the author of the first address. To secure himself from interruption he left his usual lodgings, and in seclusion meditated and wrote this renowned appeal.[2] The other address is now certainly known to be the work of John Dickinson, of Delaware.[3]

The Congress was in session less than two

[1] *Journal of Congress*, pp. 116–118.

[2] *Life of John Jay*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 30.

[3] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 220, 221.

months. Its conclusions were that the affairs in Massachusetts were endangering, by their effects, the liberties of every other colony; but that the urgency or necessity of engaging in active efforts directly in her support was not then to be approved. To this, as it was by some thought, timid hesitation, those that saw otherwise willingly deferred; they relinquished their own clear and, as the next year showed, just apprehensions, and assented to the course chosen. They presupposed how futile that course must be; yet felt how much more powerful and unconstrained would be the plan of colonial unity when that futility was declared by the chilling and hostile reception with which their generous conduct was sure to be received by the King, the Parliament, and Ministry. The delegates from Massachusetts Bay were careful during all this time not to break the lines by being in advance of others,[1] and did not fail to use, when prudent, the arts of management. When Jay and John Rutledge, out of regard to the diversity — perhaps repugnancy would

[1] To this end John Dickinson had previously written to Josiah Quincy, Jr., June 20, 1774: "Doubt not that every thing bears a most favorable aspect. Nothing can throw us into a pernicious confusion but the colony's breaking the line of opposition and advancing before the rest. The one which dares to betray the common cause by rushing forward, contrary to the maxims of discipline established by common sense and the experience of ages, will inevitably and utterly perish." — *Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, Jun.*, p. 169.

have been the fit expression — of religious opinions among the delegates, objected to directing that the next day's proceedings (September 7) be opened with prayer, Samuel Adams, the habitual and fierce opponent of establishing an Episcopal Church in America, instantly arose and moved that "Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress to-morrow morning."[1] John Adams' policy was, not to intrude himself prominently as if a leader, but to

[1] The next morning Mr. Duché appeared there, in full clerical habit and attended by his clerks. He used the established ritual of the Church, and read, of course, Psalm xxxv. Its unexpected suitableness to the circumstances of the occasion and the feelings of the assemblage produced a deep impression. Whatever satisfaction the condemnatory portions of this Psalm gave to some of the less charitable members, the reading of the accusatory verses moved other delegates to tears: "11. False witnesses did rise up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not. 12. They rewarded me evil for good, to the great discomfort of my soul. 13. Nevertheless, when they were sick, I put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer shall turn into mine own bosom. 14. I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or my brother; I went heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother. 15. But in mine adversity they rejoiced, and gathered themselves together."

There are two circumstances reported of this scene apt to excite somewhat differing reflections. Samuel Adams, on making the motion, said, that "*he* could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue." — *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 368. The expression was not unconsciously offered, but denoted a school of sentiment. The other is, that it was observed that Washington was the only member of the Congress who knelt during the services. The truth of this has been asserted by Peyton Randolph. The reasonable comment on each incident is obvious in the changed tone and practice of our own day.

enlist leading men from the other colonies, especially from Virginia, by putting them forward as advocates of the cause.[1] "We have had numberless prejudices to remove here," he wrote from Philadelphia. "We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel pulses and sound the depths; to insinuate our sentiments, designs, and desires by means of other persons, sometimes of one province and sometimes of another. . . . I wish I could convince gentlemen of the danger or impracticability of this as fully as I believe it myself."[2] John Adams be-

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 213. John Adams' method of "feeling the pulses and sounding the depths" of others is illustrated by his own description of his interview with Patrick Henry, "when Congress had finished their business, as they thought, in the autumn of 1774." "I had, before we took leave of each other, some familiar conversation, in which I expressed a full conviction that all our resolves, declarations of rights, enumeration of wrongs, petitions and remonstrances, and addresses, associations and agreements, though they might be expected by the people of America, and necessary to cement their union, would be but waste paper in England. He thought they might be of some use among the people of England, but would be totally lost upon the government. I had just received a letter, containing a few broken hints of what was proper to be done, and concluding with these words, 'After all we must fight.' This letter I read to Mr. Henry, who listened with great attention, and, as soon as I pronounced the words, 'After all, we must fight,' he erected his head, and, with an energy and vehemence that I can never forget, broke out with 'I am of that man's mind!' I put the letter into his hand; and, when he had read it he returned it to me, with a solemn asseveration that he agreed

lieved in independence as the only feasible recourse to regain and preserve colonial liberties. Samuel Adams believed and advocated separation and independence, as the desirable consummation above all things. Yet they and those of the same mind with them assented that affairs take the course marked out by the general desire. "The consequence was substantial union; whilst to the people outside the moral effect was that of extraordinary harmony in the policy of resistance. This accelerated that consolidation of all sections of opposition, which proved of the greatest value in the passage through the more critical periods of the struggle."[1]

The first Congress was an accomplished and successful fact. It met for consultation and did not exceed its commission. It became a persuasive moral force, convincing the hearts of men and preparing the way for the empire of free States. John Adams seems to have been half persuaded that the course adopted was prudent although not promising: "It seems to be the general opinion here that it is practicable for us in Massachusetts to live wholly without a legislature and courts of justice, as long as will be necessary to obtain relief

entirely in opinion with the writer." — Letter written by John Adams to Attorney-General Wirt, dated January 23, 1818, and published in Kennedy's *Life of William Wirt*, vol. 2, pp. 48, 49.

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 217.

. . . . the delegates here, and other persons from various parts, are unanimously very sanguine that if Boston and Massachusetts can possibly steer a middle course between obedience to the acts and open hostilities with the troops, the exertions of the colonies will procure a total change of measures and full redress for us."[1] "The last words which R. H. Lee said to me, when we parted, were, 'We shall, infallibly, carry all our points. You will be completely relieved. All the offensive acts will be repealed. The army and navy will be recalled, and Britain will give up her foolish project.'"[2]

The plan for redress, by non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption, should not be commended for its practical statesmanship. It must have failed as a measure of coercion upon England. But the strength of the Congress lay in its candor, its moderation, its respect for authority and power, its expression of the desire of the Colonies for peace, in its declaration that Parliament had no constitutional right to impose taxes upon a people not represented in the legislative council, and that it stated no grievance having its origin beyond the acts of Parliament passed since 1763.

[1] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 214, 215.

[2] *Life of Wirt*, by Kennedy, vol. 2, p. 50; Letter of John Adams, of January 23, 1818.

The representatives of the Colonies in Congress assembled had addressed the King and the People of England, — not the Parliament. Their petition and appeal were to their sovereign and to the source of political power. The appeal to the People was without precedent. It rested in its principle. It acknowledged their existence as the foundation of the State, and their vitalizing political power within it. Jay must have been pleased to see a principle so dear to him receive an almost national recognition. Hope elevated the heart of the people of America: while they expectingly awaited a gracious answer to their grand remonstrance.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH.

[1774–1775.]

ÆTAT. 17–18.

CHAPTER VI.

[1774–1775.]

WHEN the proceedings of Congress were known in New York, public opinions converged to their several centres, and party lines took positions distinct and permanent. The members of the old extreme liberty party were pleased. When Congress declared that, unless England restored the colonists to the political state in which they were before 1763, non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption would be strictly assumed, and the times when this should be done were fixed in the declaratory resolves, the same liberty men saw that this was their own implacable, negative policy which had, at last, triumphed. The doctrines advanced by the "meeting in the fields" of the previous July, though then censured in New York by the Committee of Fifty-one, found acceptance in a continental council of the colonies.

Those who regarded favorably the plan adopted by Congress comprehended the main body of the people in the Province of New York, and comprised in their number the aristocratic and conservative elements of its society. It was gener-

ally predicted that a satisfactory and permanent pacification must follow. But there were two coteries, strong in spirit though not numerous, who saw clearer, deeper, and further. These appreciated the potent influences which, if unchecked or unsatisfied, would inevitably bear on to independence and separation. They saw that the issue between the colonists and England went down to the root of the subject in dispute; and that England must again, and now forever and without any reservation, abandon her doctrine of the omnipotence of Parliament, and her claim of right to tax the colonists while unrepresented; repeal unequivocally the offensive parliamentary acts; withdraw her military forces from hostile occupation; or by arms maintain her usurped authority. In this opinion both of these coteries agreed; and they, likewise, believed that England would not recede one step in her aggressive scheme of subjugation. A revenue was needed; her authority was questioned; it was essential to her pride of place and power not to yield. It is not unusual nor unnatural, in like crises, to find moral elements which are most extreme and adverse, and the most active and powerful, agree in the fundamental principle of the contest; because such elements, though irreconcilable, are direct and earnest, and admit no compromising expedients. So it was that the loyalists on one side, and those who nursed

the Massachusetts predilection for the inevitability of independence on the other, did not wait to see how the congressional addresses and remonstrances were received in England; but each set vigorously to work.

The loyalists desired to nullify the influence which the placability and firmness of Congress were gaining throughout the Province of New York, and openly imputed, what they seemed to have fancied to be true, that this moderation in Congress, and its professions of loyalty to the Crown and of a desire for conciliation, were merely specious and insincere. They insisted that whatever remained of established colonial government in the provinces might be induced to condemn, in some lawful form, the retaliatory measures recommended by Congress; and that the Legislature of the Province of New York, which was then about to convene, should inaugurate the policy of counteraction. Public opinion in that province, and in what are in our day described as the Middle States, had set strongly in favor of moderation. It was this moderation in all things which Congress embodied, and of which by authority it spoke. The answer which England would give to the petition and address was to confirm or change this friendly disposition. One of the methods, which the loyalists thought might be productive of good effects, was that the inhab-

itants of New York should give, in an act of marked allegiance, an occasion for the ministry to yield with dignity somewhat to the people's will. The idea was better in its intention than in its wisdom. Such an occasion was to be given. But it shared the common fate: as we shall see. Yet the plenitude and equity of historical justice will not blame such men as these loyalists were. Their interest in the common weal was as great, and must be presumed to be as pure, as that of those who acted not with them. Hamilton did not traduce the motives nor sincerity of those who honestly differed from him. This sense of justice was habitual with him even at this early time. One of the most courageous and remarkable actions of his life, and one of his most consummate expositions of the principles of political jurisprudence, after the close of the war for independence, was in defense of the legal rights of those loyalists. In his introductory sentences to the first number of "The Federalist," — when he was about to unfold to the People the form and substance of the new system of government for the Republic, — we have a good instance of this noble and heroic temper: —

"I am well aware that it would be disingenuous to resolve indiscriminately the opposition of any set of men (merely because their situations might subject them to suspicion) into interested or ambitious views. Candor will oblige us to

admit, that even such men may be actuated by upright intentions; . . . . the honest errors of minds led astray by preconceived jealousies and fears. So numerous indeed and so powerful are the causes, which give a false bias to the judgment, that we, upon many occasions, see wise and good men on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions, of the first magnitude to society. This circumstance, if duly attended to, would furnish a lesson of moderation to those, who are ever so much persuaded of being in the right, in any controversy. And a further reason for caution, in this respect, might be drawn from the reflection, that we are not always sure, that those who advocate the truth are influenced by purer principles than their antagonists. Ambition, avarice, personal animosity, party opposition, and many other motives, not more laudable than these, are apt to operate as well upon those who support, as upon those who oppose, the right side of a question."[1]

If the well-meant exertions of this band of loyalists had succeeded in that which they proposed, and the relations of the Colonies with England been restored with honor and liberty, their names would have been cherished by grateful posterity.

The clergy of the Church of England, missionaries in the Province of New York, felt a special interest in the controversy. To the obligation of allegiance was added, in their case, that of duty to the Church. The strife between the Church in America and those who are called Dissenters was one of long continuance. It began as early as 1753; and, though its heat had abated, it was

[1] *The Federalist*, No. 1, pp. 2, 3.

prepared to break out afresh at any moment. In no province was it more fierce and unqualified by charity than in that of Massachusetts Bay. It was less fierce in New York only in comparison. When viewed there, by itself, people seemed "to hate each other for the love of God."[1] Therefore, in the triumph of a revolt for independence and separation — which all of them agreed was the latent ambition of the Massachusetts mind — the clerical party saw nothing less than absolute and utter prostration for the Church.[2] They wished well to the King, but better to the Church. "*Re que Diou.*" It was by this coterie that the most honest, unselfish, and sacrificing labors were undertaken to oppose the influence of Congress, and to elicit from the inhabitants of New York renewed expressions of adherence to the Crown. Scarcely were the measures of Congress published when members of this section of the loyalists opened with vigorous attacks and counteractions. Their efforts were organized and, as was evident, directed by some of their number best skilled in the art of controversy. Who their

[1] This was one of O'Connell's graphic expressions; a species of rhetoric which he indulged, often with great popular applause.

[2] Boucher's *View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in Thirteen Discourses, Preached in North America between the Years* 1763 *and* 1775. London, 1797. A remarkable book, and one to be consulted, especially its historical preface, by those who feel an interest in this part of the subject.

usual leaders had been was known, but which of them at this instant actively engaged against the colonial movement was not certain.

Books, periodical-papers, and essays, for and against the colonial movement, soon came "thick as autumnal leaves;" generally without the author's name and often without that of the printer and publisher. Two pamphlets on the proceedings of the Continental Congress, more remarkable at the moment than others, were published and distributed gratuitously among the people in New York and other provinces. They were in aid of the Crown, and were marked with unusual ability. The author's, printer's, and publisher's names were not given. That they were written by some of the most active and best informed of the clerical group was quite intelligently inferred. Popular curiosity was bitterly excited to discover the true author. Exemplary vengeance was loudly threatened; the pillory was said to be the only suitable expiation for the offenders; violent discussions ensued; disturbances in public places; and, so little control had folks over their anger, — the author remaining undetected, — copies of these pamphlets were tarred, feathered, and nailed to the common pillory. The more thoughtful advocates for the Congress, and of what had already become the popular cause, appreciated the force of the arguments used by those writers, and quickly

determined that the higher necessity of the case required a prudent answer in kind, and without delay. For they knew too well that the paroxysm of mob-anger would pass off; that its exhibitions of rage would affect nothing else so injuriously as the cause which they wished to serve; while the reasons and eloquence of the "Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions," and of the "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress,"[1] by "A. Farmer," — which were the titles of the objectionable pamphlets, — would surely, if not satisfactorily answered, spread acceptably among the people. But they were anticipated in the performance of their design; for, within a fortnight from the time when the letter first appeared which purported to be the work of a farmer, there came forth[2] from the press, "A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress from the Calumnies of their Enemies, in Answer to a Letter under the Signature of A. W. Farmer," embracing, in addition, "A General Address to the Inhabitants of America and a particular Address to the Farmers of the Province of New York," by "A Friend to America." The tide of

[1] Dated November 16, 1774. The motto of the first was: "Am I *therefore* become your enemy, because I tell you the Truth?" — ST. PAUL; and of the second, "Hear me, for I will speak!"

[2] On December 15, 1774.

hostile popular feeling in New York and other provinces was turned. The members of the patriot party were delighted, and thankful for the chance which gave the occasion for so satisfactory an exposition of the colonial rights of subjects of the crown, and of the motives and objects of the Congress. The thoughts, learning, and style indicated that the answer was that of some one of the ablest men of the day. In the same week with the publication of this anonymous answer, another pamphlet from the "Farmer," appeared; and, again, without printer's or publisher's name. It was an "Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention. . . . . Addressed to the Merchants of New York;" evidently printed before the answer to the "Free Thoughts" was brought to the knowledge of the "Farmer," for, in an appendix,[1] he states that, as he would be well pleased with an opportunity of vindicating both his publications at the same time, ... he will wait ten days for his antagonist's "remarks upon the 'Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates,' which he supposes will be full time enough for so very accomplished a writer." One would infer that the "Farmer" was

[1] Dated December 16, 1774. The pamphlet had for its motto: "Do you look upon these proceedings as the counsels of sobriety, or the dreams of inebriation? Do they seem to you the deliberations of wisdom, or the ravings of phrenzy?" — *Cicero contra Rullum.*

of the general opinion that his antagonist was a chosen first man of the congressional party. Promptly to his word, when the ten days had passed, a letter addressed to the author of "A Full Vindication of the Measures of Congress" was published,[1] and this time from the famous press of James Rivington. The imprimatur of so responsible a publisher gave an authoritative aspect to the anonymous pamphlets; and the public at once began to regard this phase of the controversy as a special one, which was bringing into clear and complete view the entire merits of the case between Great Britain and her colonies. So the reply was eagerly looked for. The fame of the debate had passed into other colonies. The reply quickly came,[2] — and, likewise, from the Rivington press. This circumstance astonished some and pleased many, for that was the chief

[1] Dated December 24, 1774. Its motto was:

"How hast thou instilled
Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful; now proved false?" — MILTON.

[2] On February 5, 1775, entitled: *The Farmer refuted; or, a more Impartial and Comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, Intended as a Further Vindication of the Congress; In Answer to a Letter from A. W. Farmer, Entitled, A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies; Including a Mode of Determining the Present Disputes, Finally and Effectually, &c. The Title promises Remedies, but the Box itself Poisons.* New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775.

"Tory" printing-house. The knowledge, reasonableness, earnest tone and mature sense, and propriety of language of this reply — addressing enlightened thought and not passion — indicated to the general estimation none other than the masterly mind of William Livingston or John Jay; but the greater number inclined to believe that it was the distinguished citizen who had written the address "To the People of Great Britain" who now came to the defense of the Congress.

When a lad not yet nineteen years old was discovered to be the author, incredulity was surely pardonable. The collegian who had spoken to the "meeting in the fields" a few months before was publicly disclosed to have been the author. Hercules Mulligan was not the man to keep it a secret, nor to allow his young and gifted lodger to remain in the shade. Hamilton had read in his room at the residence in Water Street the manuscript to him. Hamilton read it to others. His fellow-collegian, Robert Troup, years afterwards,[1] informs us in his reminiscences that "Dr. Cooper — the president of the college — assured me that he had no doubt the answers were from Jay's pen; and he ridiculed the idea of their having been written by such a stripling as Hamilton. I well knew the contrary, as Hamilton wrote the

[1] Letter of Troup, dated March 31, 1828; quoted in Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. I, p. 74.

answers when he and I occupied the same room in college, and I read them before they were sent to the press." Indeed, only irrefragable evidence convinced those who doubted and who did not yet know Hamilton.

As an orator and as a political writer, Hamilton, while yet but eighteen years old, was — in an age remarkable for prudence, learning, and eloquence, in an epoch of "great pith and moment" — before the people; approved, and in the first line of their public men. "Sears was a warm man, but with little reflection; M'Dougal was strong-minded; and Jay, appearing to fall in with the measures of Sears, tempered and controlled them; but Hamilton, after these writings, became our oracle." [1]

Hamilton had been a prolific political writer for the public newspaper press since the spring of 1774; and he continued like services for what may now be called the congressional cause, until the opening of actual hostilities required him, from interruptions, to lessen this kind of literary aid.[2] Indeed, he never gave up an intimate and

[1] Marinus Willetts: quoted in Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol I, p. 74.

[2] What he wrote during 1774–1775 was published chiefly in a paper called *The Age*, and in *Holt's Gazette*. In the last paper, he had, unknown to his antagonist, a disputation with Dr. Cooper the President of his college; and it was in that journal that Hamilton published his earliest known political essay. It was a defense of

frequent connection with the newspaper-press; he ever esteemed it the great estate by which public opinion is inspired, formed, and made potential in public affairs; and to the close of life he was the author of leading editorials in the "New York Evening Post," through his friend, the principal editor, William Coleman.[1]

Other pamphlets were sent from the same printing-house, the most important of which was one entitled, "What think ye of the Congress now? or, an Enquiry how far the Americans are

the destruction of the tea, and was one of a number of articles censuring the measures of the ministry.

[1] William Coleman, so distinguished as the editor of *The New York Evening Post*, under the patronage of Hamilton. His opponents gave him the title of field marshal of Federal editors. His paper for several years gave the leading tone to the press of the Federal party. His acquaintances were often surprised by the ability of some of his editorial articles, which were supposed to be beyond his depth. "Having a convenient opportunity," says the celebrated Jeremiah Mason, "I asked him who wrote, or aided in writing those articles. He frankly answered that he made no secret of it; that his paper was set up under the auspices of General Hamilton, and that he assisted him. I then asked, 'Does he write in your paper?' 'Never a word.' 'How, then, does he assist?' His answer was: 'Whenever anything occurs on which I feel the want of information, I state the matter to him, sometimes in a note. He appoints a time when I may see him, usually a late hour of the evening. He always keeps himself minutely informed on all political matters. As soon as I see him, he begins in a deliberate manner to dictate and I to note down in short-hand; when he stops my article is completed!' At that time the first and ablest men in the country directed the course of the political press."—George S. Hillard's *Life of Jeremiah Mason*, pp. 32, 33.

bound to abide by and execute the Decisions of the late Congress?" It was a very able argument, and memorable, also, as among the last works of the Rivington Press. But the "Farmer" was not its author. He was to be heard no more from that source; for an "untoward event" brought this and like debates to a sudden close on the 23d day of November following.

England was heard from. The hope of Samuel Adams and the prediction of his colleague, John Adams, were fulfilled. England superciliously rejected what America loyally proposed. There was nothing then left for the colonists but to defend their liberties under the warrant and in the spirit of the English Constitution. Independence at all events — possibly separation.

Let us turn aside, at this point, from the way of affairs in the Province of New York, to consider some of the things done in the mean time in England. Insidious counsel had taught many there to suspect the sincerity of the Congress. Many believed that its secret aim was ultimate separation. It appears from the debates in Parliament that this suspicion was strong in its effects in several important quarters; though the main argument lay in the presupposed necessity for a demonstration in force of the power of England, especially against Boston, and that a subjugation to this power should, with an effective

governmental policy, precede conciliation. The Writs of Assistance, it was said, had been withheld; the Stamp Act had been repealed; the scheme for taxation had been limited in its scope — in deference to popular clamor.[1] The indulgences of the past had educated the colonists to habits of independent thought and to disobedience. Governments, it was also reasoned, may be arbitrary, but cannot, without danger, be weak. But at heart the conspicuous object which lured the ministry itself was revenue. Premising these observations, we can now go on to relate, in a summary method, the principal incidents which attended the plan to reduce and tax a free, united, and sensitive people.

The words which Thomas Pownall[2] addressed

[1] "The opinion here," wrote Shelburne to Chatham, on February 3, 1774, "is very general that America will submit; that government was taken by surprise when they repealed the Stamp Act, and that all may be recovered." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, vol. 2, p. 299.

[2] He was born in Lincoln, England, 1722. He came to America in 1753; four years after was appointed Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; was subsequently Lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and afterwards Governor of South Carolina. He returned to England in 1761; was three times elected to Parliament; and, retiring from public life in 1780, spent the remainder of his years in studies of an antiquarian and historical nature. Concerning America he wrote these books: *Administration of the Colonies* (1764); *Description of the Middle States of America* (1776); *A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe on the State of Affairs between the Old and the New World* (1780); and *A Memorial to the Sovereigns of America* (1783).

to the House of Commons on the evening of the 22d of April, 1774, when the bill for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay was discussed, contained an announcement extraordinary only to those who were not fortunate enough to be as well acquainted as he had become with the temper of the people in America. He and Franklin had long regarded public concerns in the colonies from the same point of view; and indulged a like imagination of the grandeur, prevalence, and stability of a British Empire in America. He said:—

"The measures you are pursuing will be resisted, not by force or the effect of arms, but a regular united system. I told this House four years ago that the people of America would resist the tax then permitted to remain on them; that they would not oppose power to power, but they would become implacable. Have they not been so from that time to this very hour? I tell you now, that they will resist the measures now pursued in a more vigorous way. The committees of correspondence in the different provinces are in constant communication; they do not trust in the conveyance of the post-office. As soon as intelligence of these affairs reaches them, they will judge it necessary to communicate with each other. It will be found inconvenient and ineffectual so to do by letters; they must confer. They will hold a conference,—and to what these committees, thus met in Congress, will grow up, I will not say. Should recourse be had to arms, you will hear of other officers than those appointed by your Governor. Then, as in the late civil wars of this country, it will be of little consequence to dispute who were the transgressors; that will be merely matter of opinion."[1]

[1] Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, pp. 71, 72.

Thoroughly did this intimate friend of Franklin know the people of America, a part of whom he had once governed in the King's name. The proceedings of the Continental Congress proved to England that what Pownall had said was knowledge rather than prophecy. The enterprise of that Congress, its circumspection, its wisdom, its moderation and decorous words, commended it as a public representative body to the intelligence and patriotism of the best men in Great Britain. But it was suspicion, misconceived policy, and personal ambition that were not to be convinced nor conciliated. Chatham wrote: —

"I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as do the highest honor to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, which I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore."[1]

Afterward, on January 20, 1775, trying to persuade the House of Lords to pass a resolution removing the troops from Boston, he asserted, that —

"The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and

[1] Chatham's *Correspondence*, vol. 4, p. 368.

ship-money, in England: the same spirit which called all England on its legs, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English Constitution — the same principle which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of our liberties, — that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. This glorious spirit of whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty, and who will die in defense of their rights as men — as free men." . . . . "You might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but they are prepared to despise your power, and will not lament their loss, while they have — what, my lords? — their woods and their liberty."[1]

It was during this debate that Chatham paid the superb and merited acknowledgment due to the rare genius and worth of the Continental Congress of 1774, — a eulogy which cannot be too often brought to mind in gratitude for the candor and justice of "the Great Commoner."

"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation, and history has been my favorite study, — I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world, — that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Con-

[1] This sentiment he is supposed to have received from Franklin, who, by Chatham's express desire and his personal introduction into the House was present at this time. — Chatham's *Correspondence*, vol. 4, pp. 372–376.

gress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be futile, must be fatal."[1]

The efforts of Fox, Burke, Barre, Conway, Lord Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, the dukes of Richmond, of Manchester, and of Cumberland, Lord Camden, Lord John Cavendish,

[1] *The History of Lord North's Administration*, p. 187; the *Annual Register* (1775), p. 47. The report of Chatham's famous speech cited in the text is taken from that made by Mr. Hugh Boyd, which was published by him in the year 1779, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Genuine Extracts of two speeches of the late Earl of Chatham, with a preface and notes." (*Miscellaneous Works of Hugh Boyd*, vol. 1, pp. 196, 215, 255.) This version has been affirmed by several persons who heard the debate to be "strong and peculiarly accurate." (*Life of Pitt*, Dublin edition, 1792, vol. 2, pp. 126, 127, *note*.) There is another version, similar to that quoted, general in purport, in Belsham's *History of Great Britain*, vol. 6, pp. 91–101. There is, also, a report made by Josiah Quincy, Jr., who was present on that occasion, and of which report Franklin wrote to Quincy's father: "The notes of the speeches taken by your son . . . . are exceedingly valuable, as being by much the best account preserved of that day's debate." (*Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, pp. 318, 335.) It contains, however, but in very general terms, the above remarkable passage, though it describes, in vivid phrases, the manner of Chatham. The extraordinary powers of mind, notwithstanding so much corporeal infirmity, shown on that occasion by the "elder Pitt," recall to one's recollection the anecdote of Voltaire, who, on a visit to Turgot, when last in Paris, found the statesman wrapped in flannels, suffering from a severe attack of gout, and unable to move: "You remind me of the image seen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream." "Oh," replied Turgot, "the feet of clay." "Yes; and the head of gold, — the head of gold," added Voltaire.

Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, — a noble band of true subjects struggling to avert the dismemberment of the British Empire in America, and in intelligent sympathy with the American Congress to that end, — the petitions sent to Parliament from merchants in London, Bristol, Waterford, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and other mercantile cities and towns,[1] praying that it should desist, were all unavailing. Lord North alone, on the ministerial side, proposed what he conceived and, perhaps, meant to be a conciliatory measure. The Americans, so went this project, should arrange means for contributing their share to the common defense; the exercise of the right to tax might then without hesitation be suspended; and the privilege of raising their own allotment would be conceded to the colonists. The scheme disclosed that the real motive and object was revenue. But the minister mistook the issue.[2] It was the principle, not the fact, which America contested. Hamilton, in his first answer to the "Farmer," had said, "The Parliament claims a right to tax us in all cases whatever: its late acts are in virtue of that claim; it is the principle against which we

[1] Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 176.

[2] A history of Lord North's proposition is in Sparks' *Works of Franklin*, vol. 5, p. 70; and *Journals of Congress*, vol. 1, p. 174.

contend." Burke repeated the like asseveration. The colonists themselves had shown this in their denunciation of the reserving clause, declaring the right to tax, in the repeal of the Stamp Act. The proposition could not and did not find favor in America. The proposition of Lord North found favor, however, in England, and brought over many to the side of the ministry. Even Pownall was unexpectedly won to this ministerial policy by the absurd venture, — one which, conceding nothing fundamentally, affirmed the fallacy. Pownall, in a speech delivered on the day when Lord North introduced this plan, [February 20, 1775,] imputing the origin of the conflict to the famous Congress which assembled at Albany, in the Province of New York, in May, 1754,[1] at which he was present with Franklin, said, that —

[1] Those readers who may be interested will find the history and details of the plan meditated at that earliest Congress in Sparks' *Life and Writings of Franklin*, vol. 1, p. 176, and in vol. 3, pp. 22–55; in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. 3, p. 23; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 4, pp. 121–126; and Curtis' *History of the Constitution of the United States*, vol. 1, pp. 8, 9. What Franklin said, in 1788, of this Congress, is noteworthy: "The different and contradictory reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided." — Sparks' *Life of Franklin*, vol. 1, p. 178.

"He had the means of knowing the real opinion of the first men of business and ability in that country, and saw the rise of the present crisis. He had, therefore, always, in both countries, recommended such a mode of conduct as in his judgment was calculated to prevent a rupture; but had the misfortune to find his counsel disregarded. He now, however, saw the colonists resisting the government derived from the Crown and Parliament; opposing rights which they had always acknowledged; arming and arraying themselves, and carrying their opposition into force by arms; under such circumstances he could not deny the necessity which impelled this country to assume a hostile position; the Americans themselves had rendered it necessary. But, although he acquiesced in the coercive measures of government, he ever looked to pacification, and hailed the proposition as a dawn of peace." [1]

General Conway, first in time and in ardor among the earliest friends of the colonists, fell for a time into this way of thinking, and speaking of the Boston Port Bill as a lenient measure, said, also: —

"It is hoped and expected, that this want of confidence in the justice and tenderness of the mother-country, and this open resistance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people. The better and wiser part of the colonies will know that decency and submission may prevail, not only to redress grievances, but to obtain grace and favor; while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but severity and chastisement." [2]

[1] Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 191. The speech in full will be found in the *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. 18, pp. 322–329.

[2] See, also, Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 71.

This view of conquering a conciliation with the colonists removed many obstructions in the way of the ministry — was ostensibly put forward, and served well as a guise in which the scheme for revenue might yet be accomplished.

Some members of the ministry and its adherents were already persuaded, as we have observed, that there was a number of persevering and irreconcilable public men in New England, with active sympathizers in other provinces, who would not rest content with anything less than entire separation from England. Indeed, beside the tales which had been borne to their ears, there was much in the history of the American Plantations, and something in human nature itself, to encourage the belief. Nevertheless Turgot and Vergennes drew a different inference upon philosophical and truer reasons: national affiliations, national habits and traditions, national pride in a common origin and language, and rooted interests, were not, in their opinion, so easily set aside.

In a debate of the following session, on November 15, 1775, Lord Mansfield — we anticipate so as to comprehend all that is essential to this view — in answer to things which had been said by the Duke of Richmond and Lords Camden and Shelburne, related what he regarded as the real source of the "pretensions which convulsed America, and agitated Great Britain:" —

"The bad consequences of planting northern colonies were early predicted. Sir Joshua Child foretold, before the revolution of 1688, that they would, finally, prove our rivals in power, commerce, and manufactures. Davenant, adopting the same ideas, foresaw that whenever America found herself sufficiently strong to contend with the mother-country, she would endeavor to become a separate and independent state. This had been the constant object in New England, almost from her earliest infancy."[1]

The English Parliament, by majorities most decisive, moved along with the Ministry in their determination to put forth "the dormant strength" of England "upon an adequate occasion," and this now became the ascendant policy. Among those who had already acceded to such a policy must, we think, be numbered William, Earl of Shelburne;[2] for when the tax scheme was revived,

[1] *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. 18, pp. 955–958.

[2] Afterwards the first Marquis of Lansdowne. When Talleyrand came to the United States in 1794, it was from him that he bore the letter of presentation to President Washington, which the latter, for reasons of policy, did not honor. — Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. 10, pp. 412, 436. *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. 3, p. 515. Washington, however, wrote to Lord Lansdowne: "I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing to me M. Talleyrand-Périgord. It is matter of no small regret to me, that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character, and of your Lordship's recommendation. But I am informed, that the reception he has met with in general has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time must naturally be favorable to him everywhere, and may be expected to

in 1767, that nobleman requested Mr. Maurice Morgann, his private secretary, to prepare a statement of reasons to serve as a guide for him along the probable course of events. This paper is worth our consideration; for the light which it sheds reveals more clearly the purpose of the time, and of schemes subsequently attempted: —

"Notwithstanding the great defects in the constitution of the American Provinces, they acknowledged and practiced a due obedience to the laws of the British Legislature until the enacting of the late Stamp Act. The progression of affairs in America had not yet led the thoughts of men to independence. They were obedient from habit, and from that reverence with which they considered the mother-country; but the Stamp Act having an immediate tendency to destroy the whole frame of their constitution, by taking away from their legislatures the only subjects of taxation which the laws of trade and navigation had left them, it was no wonder, therefore, if they thought of self-defense and resistance, that their habits of obedience were broken, and their reverence toward this country diminished. The feelings of mankind are generally more to be depended upon than their understandings. In England, the Stamp Act was a speculative point, but in America the meanest settler felt his freedom and his property to depend on the event."[1]

But, notwithstanding these concessions to the historical justice of the case, it is recommended to be considered, that —

raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages, which in revolutions result from differences of political opinion."

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, vol. 2, pp. 50–54.

"'If Great Britain does not in some shape put forth her dignity on this occasion, she may end by losing all credit and reverence in America, and lose, likewise, her power there, which is and must be in a great measure founded on opinion. Some measures, therefore, it seems, ought to be taken of so bold and decisive a nature, as to convince the Americans that the long patience of Great Britain has been by no means owing to timidity; and yet the ends of those measures should be so manifestly just and important, as to leave no room for jealousies and fears in the minds of the sober and well-disposed, and thereby give no pretense for common measures of resistance, and it would be still more desirable if those measures could be directed against a particular province."[1]

A deaf ear was now turned by Parliament to all further expostulation. Petitions were not to be entertained. Chatham introduced a bill which "framed a plan of adjustment, solid, honorable, and permanent." This he did in answer to the charge "that the measures of ministers were censured by those who proposed nothing better." It was rejected by a vote of 61 to 32.[2] Franklin, Bollan, and Lee prayed to be examined at the bar of the House in regard to the petition of Congress to the King. Their request was denied.[3] Edmund Burke, near the close of the session, after three months almost daily discussion of American affairs, presented a remonstrance

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 55, and vol. 3, p. 16. Concerning Maurice Morgann, see Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. 8, p. 387, *n.*

[2] January 25, 26, 1775.

[3] January 25, 26, 1775.

from New York, — a "quiet and loyal colony," — showing the harshness used to her sister colonies. It met with a like reception from Lords, Commons, and Privy Council, as other innumerable petitions and agents did: that is, few were received and none answered.[1] This petition had been sent from the Assembly in pursuance of the efforts for conciliation advocated by the loyalists in that province, and was the result of their work.[2] The Assembly had, likewise, declined to take into consideration the proceedings of the Continental Congress. Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, and Abraham Ten Broeck united in opposition; but so great was the change already effected in public opinion, among the higher degrees of New York society, that eight of the majority of eleven in the division had been members of that committee of correspondence which issued the circular letter to the other colonies advising that the Congress of 1774 should be called. The Assembly declined likewise to send delegates to the Congress announced to meet at Philadelphia the ensuing May. Those special efforts of loyal disposition, it was advised in England, should be encouraged. But the purpose of the ministry was at last fixed, and Parlia-

[1] Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. I, p. 312.

[2] MSS. statement of Bishop Seabury, hereafter to be more particularly cited.

ment committed to their support. Lord North answered Burke, that Parliament could not hear anything which tended to call in question the right of taxing; and the memorial from New York was not even received.

The doctrine of the Omnipotence of Parliament was asseverated; the troops were not to be withdrawn from Boston; proceedings were to continue against that "particular province;" the "dignity of England" was to be displayed on the occasion; and America required to yield a passive obedience.

The reply which America will make is already preparing.

On the 26th of May, Parliament was prorogued. The second Continental Congress was at that time in session at Philadelphia. Franklin, who left London in the early part of March, had arrived at Philadelphia on the 5th of May. The Pennsylvania Assembly was then sitting, and passed a resolve, early the day after his arrival, adding him to the delegates appointed by that House on the part of the State to the Congress.[1] He willingly accepted. It needed a public and unequivocal act on his part to dissociate himself in the minds of people from those who still looked for a British Empire in America, and to commit himself sincerely, in their acceptance, to

[1] Sparks' *Works of Franklin*, vol. 8, pp. 149, 153, 154.

the cause of the colonists.[1] He had reluctantly become convinced during his last days in England that the ministry would make independence probable for the few who wished; however much the colonists at large strove to avoid it. The expression reported to him in London, as having been used by North, indicated, he thought, a purpose "so cool and calculated in the ministry as to render a compromise hopeless."[2] He had lost his patience with the ministry, and almost involved himself, on the eve of his departure, by attempting to present to Parliament a protest and threat, which would have exposed him to a prosecution. It was the only time that his wonderful circumspection and self-control seem to have been not by him.[3] Franklin only deepened his consociates' previous impressions. The intelligence which had reached America of the proceedings in Parliament, showing that that body would encourage no sympathy with the efforts making by Congress and by the loyalists, each in their separate, dissociate way, to preserve the integrity of the empire, produced another marked revulsion. Congress and its adherents were amazed. It must be, they considered, that England was

[1] *Life of James Otis*, pp. 391–393.

[2] As to the remarkable expression used by Lord North, and the evidence relating to it, see *ante*, pp. 10, 11.

[3] Sparks' *Works of Franklin*, vol. 5, pp. 78–82.

still misinformed concerning the temper, unity, and strength of the colonists. They knew that the revengeful spirit and the personal ambition of Bernard and Hutchinson were actively at work, and ascribed more to their evil power than was really due. Many believed them to be those who inspired the ministerial measures against Massachusetts. "I do assure you," said Pownall to Josiah Quincy, Jr., in London (November 26, 1774), "all the measures against America were planned and pushed on by Bernard and Hutchinson. They were incessant in their application to administration, and gave the most positive assurance of success; and I do assure you, America has not a more determined, insidious, and inveterate enemy than Governor Hutchinson. He is now doing, and will continue to do, all he can against you."[1] "Mr. Inspector Williams called on me this morning," writes Quincy in his diary (December 7, 1774), "and again renewed to me his assurances that Governor Hutchinson was the sole cause and presser-on of the measures against Boston and all America. 'It is his advice that dictated the steps of administration, and it is his present opinion and assurances that keep up the spirits and measures of the ministry,' were his very words."[2] These things had

[1] *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, by his son, pp. 241, 242.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

been made known in America. They corroborated like advice from other sources.

The important events at home, more than ever, appeared to require that Congress should remain as long as possible the common exponent and constant proposer of peace. Another petition for conciliation should be sent to England. Congress was not aware at this time that Parliament was prorogued; nor was it known that letters were sent to General Gage, at Boston, "to take possession of every colonial fort; to seize and secure all military stores of every kind collected for the rebels; to arrest and imprison all such as should be thought to have committed treason; to repress rebellion by force; to make the public safety the first object of consideration; to substitute more coercive measures for ordinary forms of proceeding, without pausing 'to require the aid of a civil magistrate;'" nor that "Thurlow and Wedderburn had given their opinion that the Massachusetts Provincial Congress was a treasonable body.[1] An event, near at hand (June 19, 1775), was to settle the irrelevancy and inaccu-

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, p. 284. "To call the Americans rebels was idle and wicked. The Romans had a war of a character similar to that being carried on in America. They did not call their enemies in that war rebels; the war itself they called the Social War; and in the same sense he desired to call the war in America a *Constitutional War*." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, vol. 2, p. 304.

racy of the epithets, "rebel" and "rebellion," as applied to the revolt of the Colonies. Neither was Parliament aware, when those orders were sent out, nor on the day when its session closed, that, while they were rejecting those peaceful and respectful solicitations, and while they were determining to put forth an unmistakable demonstration of the "dignity" and "power" of Parliament, a considerable part and the flower of the army of General Gage was flying, beaten and scattered, before the contemned inhabitants from the villages of "the particular province."[1] A few days after that session of Parliament had ended the names of Lexington and Concord became known in London. The ministry had their answer from Massachusetts, —

> "War for war, and blood for blood,
> Controllment for controllment." [2]

It was an English answer: often before made by the Englishry on English soil to usurped authority and illegal force. The spirits of Stephen Langton, of Simon de Montfort, and of John Hampden would approve that day as one which brightens the calendar of those events whereby the liberties of the people of England are maintained. And somewhat of the fire and legitimate

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 289, 310, 343.

[2] *King John*, Act i., scene i.

temper of that elder time appeared when Washington uttered the wish to "raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head for the relief of Boston:"[1] and when the officers of the Virginia troops, in the moment that their campaign against the Indians terminated in a glorious victory, resolved (November 5, 1774), in the depths of the western forest, "to exert every power within them for the defense of American liberty."[2]

Though deeply stirred by the news from Massachusetts, the serene wisdom of Congress remained unclouded. That innocent and valuable lives had been recklessly taken, and the land "bedaubed with its own children's blood," seemed to a part of that patriotic body an additional reason why another appeal should go forth, and now in the name of Mercy as well as of Justice. Parliament may not remain inexorable; but if it should — then, indeed, was "its heart hardened," and not capable to "understand the things which belong to its peace." Richard Penn, "a proprietary of Pennsylvania and recently its governor, a most loyal Englishman, bound by the strongest motives of affection and interest to avert American independence," was selected to bear this new

[1] *The Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, p. 360.

[2] *American Archives* (Fourth Series), vol. 1, p. 962; and *Life of James Madison*, by Rives, vol. 1, pp. 66, 67.

petition.[1] The day on which this was resolved Parliament adjourned for the session. It was to Richard Penn that Gouverneur Morris had written a letter so remarkable for the testimony which it bears to the existence of a profound and almost ineradicable prejudice against all New England and any sentiment known to spring from within its teaching. John Adams was of those who opposed this mission. Washington was from the first convinced that there was not "anything to be expected from petitioning," and that they "ought to put their virtue and fortitude to the severest test;" indeed he had, in January preceding, aided in arming and organizing the militia of the County of Fairfax, Virginia.[2] But John Dickinson, sincere and earnest in his opposition to Parliament, and toiling to prevent a separation from England, "was yet the master spirit, whose exhortations swayed the middle colonies; so it was determined once more to supplicate the King."[3] The Provincial Congress of New York, which had produced a plan of accommodation, transmitted it to their delegates at Philadelphia, requesting them to "use every effort for compromising this unhappy quarrel; so that, if our well-meant endeavors shall fail of effect, we may

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 8, p. 39.
[2] Rives' *Life of James Madison*, vol. 1, pp. 56–76.
[3] *The Works of John Adams*, vol. 1, p. 172.

stand unreproachable by our own consciences in the last solemn appeal to the God of Battles." John Jay made the motion. But it was agreed that the immediate time was not to be lost in delay, and that the work of preparation for defense should go on.

It could not be otherwise. Some of the Colonies were taking matters into their own hands from necessity; and Congress learned that its name was employed in warlike transactions even before it had met. The first overt act of war had occurred between inhabitants of Massachusetts and the royal troops. Ticonderoga surrendered to Ethan Allen at the dawn of the very day upon which Congress was invited first to assemble. He demanded its surrender in the name of that body while it was yet not even in existence. Reprisals by Canada were to be expected. Armed bodies, gathered rapidly together in the ardor of self-defense, grouped themselves in one organization in the vicinity of Boston. Congress was a mere assembly without power, without money or the authority to raise it, — a simply deliberative and advisory body, as yet. Still, to the extent of its influence, it determined to support Massachusetts. The rising, however, was growing general in many of the Colonies. "A spark of fire inflames a compact building, a spark of spirit will as soon enkindle a united

people," said Quincy. On the 26th of May, Congress resolved that the Colonies be immediately put in a state of defense; and the exposed situation of New York induced Congress to recommend that the militia should be armed and trained, and held in readiness to act at a moment's notice;[1] and adopting the troops which environed Boston, those became, in fact and title, the Continental Army. John Adams, finishing a letter on the 17th of June to his wife, wrote: "I can now inform you that the Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave George Washington, Esquire, to be General of the American Army, and that he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies. . . . . I hope the people of our province will treat the General with all the confidence and affection, that politeness and respect, which is due to one of the most important characters in the world. The liberties of America depend upon him, in a great degree." While John Adams was writing those words the contest between Parliament and the Colonies culminated in open and public war. The "battle," as it is called, of Bunker Hill, was going on. As a conflict of arms, beneath the

[1] *Life of John Jay*, by his son, vol. 1, pp. 38, 39.

magnitude of a battle: in its immediate moral and political effects to be esteemed one of the decisive battles of the world. Congress had now acquired power to take care, according to its own discretion, of the liberties of the land. Georgia had come into the combination, and the Union then comprehended the whole thirteen colonies. On July 3, 1775, Washington, by commission from the Congress, took command of the American Army at Cambridge, Massachusetts. His headquarters were in the mansion to-day the home of the poet Longfellow. Congress, at the time of granting this commission, resolved, that they would maintain, assist, and adhere to George Washington, with their lives and fortunes, in the same cause.[1]

It was concluded that the new petition to the King should not be interrupted by the warlike course of events in the several Colonies. Congress had given, says Jefferson, "a signal proof of their indulgence to Mr. Dickinson, and of their desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of our body, in permitting him to draw their second petition to the King according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment. The disgust against its humility was general, and Mr. Dickinson's delight at its passage the only circumstance which reconciled them to

[1] Elliott's *Debates*, vol. 1, p. 48.

it."[1] But Jay, in accord with the sentiment expressed by the Congress of his Province, then and ever, insisted that it was beneficial. Its rejection by England would incline people more to the necessity for independence, and justify further the resort to arms. Its moral effect was instantly good. It produced in America all he predicted; and the Revolution was the steadier for the renewed attempt to conciliate. So on the 8th of July the petition, being engrossed, was signed individually by all the delegates, and Mr. Penn departed for England four days after, on the mission which well became the name he bore.

In the opinion of some of the most important members of the Congress, current events, though full of resolution and power, had not yet carried the struggle beyond the scope of possible conciliation. Franklin uttered what a considerable part of his fellow delegates thought, when he wrote these words to his friend, the celebrated Joseph Priestley: —

"The Congress met at a time when all minds were exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage and his attack on the country people, that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of renewing the friendship of the colonies; which,

[1] *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, p. 9.

however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so, I conclude, she has lost them forever." [1]

And again, writing to another friend in England, supposed to be David Hartley, he urges:—

"I wish as ardently as you can do for peace; and should rejoice exceedingly in coöperating with you to that end. But every ship from Britain brings some intelligence of new measures that tend more and more to exasperate; and, it seems to me, that until you have found by dear experience the reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reasonable. We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures. If you would recall your forces, and stay at home, we would meditate nothing to injure you. A little time so given for cooling on both sides would have excellent effects. . . . . I clearly see we are on the high road to mutual family hatred and detestation. A separation of course will be inevitable. It is a million of pities so fair a plan as we have hitherto been engaged in should be destroyed by the mangling hands of a few blundering ministers. It will not be destroyed; God will protect and prosper it; you will only exclude yourselves from any share in it. We know that you may do us a great deal of mischief, and are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can. But if you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. The Congress are still sitting, and will wait the result of their *last petition*." [2]

What we have written will, perhaps, be amply sufficient to remind us of the temper, motive, and object of Congress in their desire and methods for conciliation with England. It is the sub-

[1] Sparks' *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 8, p. 156.
[2] Sparks' *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 8, p. 161.

stance of that which history records. Each contribution which our time adds to the historical knowledge of that epoch, is but cumulative evidence of the truth of what we have related. We have not purposed to write the history of the Congress of 1775, nor of that which preceded it. We desire simply to sketch enough of their proceedings and those of Parliament to assist us in understanding the real nature, philosophy, and history of the conflict as a "constitutional war," so far as the Colonies were involved in its beginning. The thoughts and posture of the colonists at this moment toward England was once afterwards to be most truthfully, sententiously, and intelligibly acknowledged and reproduced. It was when Henry Grattan, great orator, pure patriot, consummate statesman, who had studied and knew the temper of the American Revolution, said at the Dungannon Convention, in 1782, while proclaiming the spirit of his own native land, under circumstances not unlike: "From injuries to arms, from arms to liberty; liberty with England, if England is so disposed — but at all events Liberty."[1]

[1] *The Life of Henry Flood*, p. 154; and *The Case of Ireland Stated*, by Robert Holmes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH.

[1775.]

ÆTAT. 18.

CHAPTER VII.

[1775.]

THE old Colonial Assembly had quietly passed away. On the third of April, 1775, it adjourned. It never met again. It had done its best for the Crown: and the Crown did not heed it. As were the Sons of Liberty passively superseded the year before by the orderly and more discreet Committee of Fifty-one, so did the Colonial Assembly fade away without formal act: and public opinion and public interest were to be truly represented by a new body called the Provincial Convention. The Sons of Liberty joined the ranks of the congressional party. Not so the adherents of the Crown. The old Assembly, which had been in session since the fifteenth of January, refused to acknowledge, or to consider the recommendations of, the Continental Congress of 1774; it rejected a proposal to thank Jay and the other New York delegates; it refused to appoint delegates to the approaching Congress; it declined to say a word of encouragement to the merchants who were supporting the policy of non-importa-

tion. The spirit of its conduct was unequivocal and sturdy — yielding nothing to popular feeling, and resisting all plans which, in the judgment of the members, tended to weaken the ties between England and the Colonies, or to impair the authority of her existing governance.[1] The voices of Philip Schuyler and of George Clinton fell upon the ears of that Assembly as profitless as those of Chatham and Burke upon the Parliament in London. The influence of Schuyler and of Clinton was, however, considerable and growing. A majority of but one, when the motion to consider the proceedings of Congress was lost, showed the decreasing strength of the royalists. The labors of the session culminated and closed in the petition to the King, sent to Edmund Burke. But long ere the fate of that petition was heard of, another public body sat in the place of the ancient Assembly, and the news from Lexington and Concord admonished the members that their efforts were in vain and their political function useless.

The Assembly, up to the time when it ceased to exist, was not unrepresentative. Around them were intelligent, wealthy, vigorous inhabitants, whose power was not more effective, only because England did not appreciate nor reciprocate their loyal services; and finally, for the greater reason,

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 208–212.

that the compact, steady, judicious conduct of the great body of the colonists overcame all who chose to oppose. New York was, perhaps, of all the Colonies, notable for a want of unanimity in the assertion and defense of the principles which inspired the resistance to the Parliament. In almost every county many sided with the "mother-country." This sentiment was wider spread on Long Island than elsewhere, and was estimated to comprehend a large majority of its people. In Queens' County they had, by a defiant public vote, declared themselves neutral, and declined to take part in the proposed colonial re-assembling at Philadelphia.[1]

At its beginning and, perhaps, throughout the continuance of the contest, the British cause had more friends in the Province of New York than in any other of the colonies which sympathized with the Continental Congress. This may be assigned to many reasons. There were a large number of landed proprietors and wealthy farmers who naturally felt greater security for life and property under a familiar and established order of political dominion than could be expected from a forcible and turbulent change. The government agents to the Indians on the frontiers of the Province and along the valley of the Mohawk, looked up to for many years by the set-

[1] *Life of John Jay*, vol. I, pp. 41, 42.

tlers, had a strong influence over the inhabitants of those parts; and hence, for some time after the actual contest began, the people west of Albany were disposed to support "tory" tendencies and principles. Long Island, Staten Island, even the city of New York, and settlements on the banks of the Hudson below the Highlands, were so much exposed to any warlike hostile attack, that the ordinary instincts of human nature might account for such a proclivity, even if it had been more general. It was surely sufficient to make those colonists slow in casting off a natural allegiance to a power which, it seemed to them, they could neither resist nor elude.[1]

Westchester County, the home of John Jay and Gouverneur Morris, was not less prominent nor bold than Queen's County in its "tory" declarations. A man of strong will, clear perceptions, untiring diligence, learned and eloquent, was chief among those who organized and led an opposition to the Congress and all tendencies to independence in New York, and the adjoining counties. The extent and importance of it were rather suspected than known. This was Samuel Seabury,[2] the rector of the parish church at West-

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, p. 37.

[2] Born November 30, 1729, at Groton, near New London, in the Colony of Connecticut; graduated from Yale College, 1748; he studied medicine in the University of Edinburgh, but, after acquir-

Samuel Bp Connect.

Fac-simile from the picture in the possession of his great-grandson, the Rev. William J. Seabury, D. D.

Heliotype Printing Co., Boston.

chester. It was soon widely believed that the authorship of the letters by A Westchester Farmer might be credibly imputed to him. That he was the author is now put beyond dispute. The evidence, in his own handwriting, is before us as we pen these lines. He was a stout churchman, of strong convictions, and, by those convictions, a loyalist. He was sincerely and proudly an American, in the sense in which Berkeley and Franklin were, when they saw the greater future of the Colonies in a grand British empire in America;[1] but, like Berkeley, he wished to see the Church, in its Episcopal authority, able to accompany, independently, the State in the boundless sphere of missionary duty which arose before their imaginations. In simple, earnest words, written in the hour of exile and affliction,[2] he tells the story of

ing a competent knowledge in that department he preferred to devote himself to the study of theology; he was ordained deacon on Friday, December 21, 1753, and on the Sunday following admitted to priest's orders, and on the same day by Sherlock, Bishop of London, licensed and authorized to perform the office of priest in New Jersey, and in 1754 he entered upon his duties, at New Brunswick, in that Province. He was, on January 12, 1757, collated and inducted into the parish of Jamaica, Long Island, by Sir Charles Hardy, governor of New York; and having been instituted rector of St. Peters', in Westchester County, by mandate of Sir Henry Moore, December 3, 1766, he was formally inducted to that office March 1, 1767, by the Rev. Myles Cooper, D. D., President of King's College.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 191–196.

[2] Seabury MSS.

that period. His dread of the influence which Massachusetts was directing against the introduction of the Church into New England, was equal to the hatred which Massachusetts professed against the episcopate. He feared, also, the concerted plans to a similar end which were set in operation by William Livingston and his party in New York. Those men were of that kind which was most active in propagating doctrines going to alienate the hearts of the colonists from the English domination, and, by necessary inference, to uproot the few and slender plants which the Church had lodged in the new world. Seabury, on his return from England, which was soon after his ordination there, entered the field of polemic controversy. This was in 1754. He fully apprehended the course which probable events would take. About that time "periodical papers and essays began to be published in New York, tending to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to government, and to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this country, both in Church and State,"[1] A paper of that sort made its appearance, styled the "Watch-tower," then supposed, and now known, to be written by William Livingston and his associates.[2] Sea-

[1] Seabury MSS., draft of a Memorial to the Lords Commissioners, written in London, October 20, 1783.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 164–166.

bury, in "conjunction with a number of his brethren and friends," wrote "several essays and papers in answer to the 'Watch-tower,' with a view to prevent the ill effects it might have on the minds of the people. . . . . Some years after, when it was evident, from continued publications in newspapers, and from the uniting of all the jarring interests of the Independents and Presbyterians from Massachusetts to Georgia, under grand committees and synods, that some mischievous scheme was meditated against the Church of England and the British government in America," as Seabury continues to relate, he entered "into an agreement with the Rev. Dr. T. B. Chandler, then of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the Rev. Dr. Inglis, the rector of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, to watch all publications, either in newspapers or pamphlets, and so obviate the evil influence of such as appeared to have a bad tendency, by the speediest answers."[1] Faithfully and arduously he did his

[1] "A jealousy of the designs of the English hierarchy was kept constantly alive, by the indications given from time to time of anxiety to extend its authority over this country, and by the indiscreet conduct of some of its missionaries. Fear, hatred, and a long course of hereditary prejudices against the Church, combined almost all the dissenting clergy of New England in constant opposition to it, and naturally led them to sympathize with those who opposed the unconstitutional acts of political power. The intentions of the Church and the King were often mentioned in conjunction, and when the ambitious designs of the ministry under

part of the agreement. He and his two associates bore the whole weight of the controversy. When the commotions concerning the independence of the Colonies began, Seabury was settled in the parish of Westchester. He, "perceiving matters were taking a most serious, and," to his understanding, "alarming turn, ... thought it his duty to exert his utmost abilities and influence in support of the government." He therefore from the beginning opposed the election of all committees and congresses — in pursuance of which object he rode many days in the county of Westchester; assembled "the friends of government," and, at their head, denounced publicly "the lawless meetings and measures of the disaffected." At this moment he, with his friend Isaac Wilkins,[1] assembled "near four hundred friends of government at the White Plains, who openly opposed and protested against any congress, convention, or committee; and who were determined, if possible, to support the legal government of their country; . . . . their proceedings and protest were published in Mr. Rivington's Gazette; and there was no way of getting rid of such an

George III. began to be apprehended, an extension of the power of the Church was supposed to be connected with them."—*Life of Otis*, p. 136; and *Critical Review* for October, 1764, article on *Mayhew*.

[1] It is to this gentleman that the authorship of the pamphlets by A Westchester Farmer has been frequently ascribed.

opposition, but for the disaffected in New York to send for an armed force from Connecticut into the county of Westchester, which they did, and, under its power, carried all their points."[1]

While Seabury was thus employing his personal influence in his own county of Westchester, he was not inattentive to the compact made by him with the Drs. Chandler and Inglis. It was in this way it came about that he wrote the pamphlet entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia." That pamphlet was a labor of love as well as one of obligation, for he was sincerely convinced that Congress "had shown, by their adopting the Suffolk Resolves, that they had entered into a deep scheme

[1] Seabury MSS. The apprehensions of the Provincial Congress were excited by the vigor and prevalence of the growing opposition, and a report, evidently from Jay, recommended among other things which should be directed against Queen's County, that its inhabitants be put out of the protection of the United Colonies, and not be permitted to travel or abide beyond the limits of their own county; that any lawyer who should bring or defend any action for them be deemed and treated as an enemy to the American cause, — which was, in effect, the infliction of civil death; and that six hundred men from New Jersey, where William Livingston was now all powerful, and as many from Connecticut, where Sears then commanded an organized military body, be marched into that county to disarm the disaffected, and to arrest and keep in custody, till further orders, certain specified individuals. The report was adopted by the Congress. — *Life of John Jay*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 42. From this act others, without perhaps direct authority, took license to ultimately invade the city of New York and Westchester County by armed bodies from Connecticut.

of rebellion. He intended to point out, in a way accommodated to the comprehension of the farmers and landholders, the destructive influences which the measures of the Congress, if acted upon, would have on them and the laboring part of the community."[1] To the pamphlet there were other answers than that by Hamilton; but it was his which lifted this discussion particularly above all the others, centered upon it the general attention, imparted to that discussion on the people's side a moderation and reasonableness unusual to popular contentions, and spread the fame of the mutual altercations throughout the provinces. Seabury followed up the "Thoughts" by his "Congress Canvassed," and the "Address to the Merchants of New York."

When the Colonial Assembly was in session for the last time [January–April, 1775] Seabury's persuasiveness upon that body was prevalent, and seems to have been most decisive. That there was some latent power, unknown to the public, which held the royalists up to the work set before them, was manifest. Seabury is in our day disclosed to have been the inspiration and embodiment of that power. His zeal never outran his means nor his patience, and to the patient all things are possible. To aid him in this part of his labors he published, likewise anonymously,

[1] Seabury MSS.

"An Alarm to the Legislature of New York," in which he endeavored to show "that by adopting and establishing the proceedings of the Congress as most other assemblies had done, they would betray the rights and liberties of their constituents, set up a new sovereign power in the Province, and plunge it into all the horrors of rebellion and civil war." He had personal interviews, just before the meeting of the Assembly, "with at least one third" of its members, "with whom he was well acquainted." How far the conversation and writings of Seabury had weight in the deliberations of that House may be inferred from the rejection of the proceedings and declining all recognition of the Congress, and from the circumstance that the petition and memorial were sent to the King and the Parliament. The temper of the Assembly was so unmistakable, that when Philip Schuyler, with kindling eye and ill-suppressed indignation, proposed this amendment to the petition to the King: "Although your majesty's subjects have, in some instances, submitted to the power exercised by the parent state, they, nevertheless, consider themselves entitled to an equal participation of freedom with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain," it was lost.[1] Yet nothing came but humiliation from the obsequiousness of the old Colonial Assembly.

[1] *History of the Republic*, by J. C. Hamilton, vol. I, p. 82.

A suspicion that Seabury was the writer of the opprobrious pamphlets gaining some currency at this time, and the certain knowledge that his advice was taken by the royalists, were the immediate causes of the attempt made, soon after the adjournment of the Assembly, by a body of troops stationed at Rye, fifteen miles distant from his residence, to seize him and Isaac Wilkins, then member for Westchester. Forewarned, they retired for some time. Wilkins did not return home, but embarked for England. Seabury remained, and did not abate in ardor nor works. On the 23d day of November, 1775, Isaac Sears, now a member of the Provincial Congress and captain, rode at the head of an armed body of one hundred horsemen, belonging to the adjoining Province of Connecticut, into the city of New York. Rivington's printing-house had never been to the liking of that indiscreet and implacable "son of liberty." It was now more intolerable to him than ever. The types and printing materials were taken by him and his troopers, and carried with much ostentatious delight to Connecticut. This was simply the end of controversy between the Westchester Farmer and Hamilton. The question had, in truth, already passed beyond the power of words, and entered the domain of arms. But the raid was a bold act, done in the open day. No responsible person approved the incursion; it

was commonly regarded as an unauthorized attack upon the peace and dignity of the Province. It filled many people with fear and foreboding. Hamilton and others volunteered to unite with the militia organization in the city, pursue Sears, and without delay redress the wrong. Had the current of angry feeling, natural to the occasion, not been quickly stayed by the super-controlling events in England, the Crown would have derived from the moral effect of the outrage an auxiliary in New York greater than any which had yet arisen from circumstance; for the indignity declared an underlying spirit of terrorism, fitful and incapable of restraint; all the more dreaded as coming directly from a province in full sympathy with the aspirations of Massachusetts for independence.[1]

[1] Rivington, a person of unusual intelligence, and with the education and manners of a gentleman, does not appear creditably as viewed in the detecting light of historical disclosure. When his printing-house was destroyed he went to England, and returned in the autumn, after the royal army took possession of New York. Early in 1777 he resumed the publication of his journal, and continuously abused Washington and Congress, and all relating to the United Colonies. It is a well-attested fact that he, secretly, during all this, was furnishing Washington with information concerning proceedings in New York. This was so from early in 1781 to 1783. By means of books which he printed he appears to have carried on safely his ignoble task. The information was written upon thin paper, which was then bound in the covers of books, and these he managed to sell to persons employed by Washington to buy of him, but who were ignorant of the device. Washington removed the covers and got the communications. — *Lossing's Eminent Americans*, p. 208.

Some days previous to the attack on Rivington's printing-house, Sears, with sixteen companions, set out from New Haven for the purpose of seizing the persons of Seabury, Lord Underhill, the Mayor of the borough of Westchester, and Mr. Fowler, one of the justices of the county. On their way they were joined by about eighty other men going to New York, who seem to have been in different companies, as they were commanded by Captains Richards, Sellick, and Mead. After burning a small sloop at Mamaroneck, and taking Underhill and Fowler, the party went (November 19) to the rectory of Seabury, and, "not finding him at home, they beat his children to oblige them to tell where their father was, which not succeeding, they searched the neighborhood and took him from his school," and placed him, together with Underhill and Fowler, under a strong guard, to be conducted to Connecticut. The main body then, united under the command of Sears, went on their way to New York to destroy Rivington's establishment, and the guard, "with much abusive language," proceeded with the three prisoners "in great triumph to New Haven, seventy miles distant, where he was paraded through most of the streets, and their success celebrated by firing of cannon, etc. At New Haven he was confined under a military guard and keepers for six weeks, during which time they

endeavored to fix the publication of A W. Farmer's pamphlets on him, which failing, and some of the principal people in that country disapproving their conduct, he was permitted to return home."[1] Seabury was then allowed to remain in tolerable quiet till the spring of 1776. At that time he suffered much, both from insult and the loss of property, by the parties of recruits who were almost daily passing through his parish to join the Continental Army in the city of New York. The retreat of the American forces after the final engagement on Long Island, on the 27th of August, 1776, gave him a welcome op-

[1] Seabury MSS. See, also, the *Constitutional Gazette*, November 25, 1775; the *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 6, 1775; the *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, vol. 8, p. 645; the *Middlesex Journal* (London), January 11, 1776; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1776, vol. 46, p. 509; the *Proceedings of the New York General Committee*, November 23 and 24, 1775; and the *Proceedings of the New York Provincial Congress*, December 8, 1775, to June 10, 1776. The Provincial Congress addressed a letter, dated December 12, 1775, to Jonathan Trumbull, the Governor of Connecticut, on this occasion, complaining of the acts of Sears as "invasions of our essential rights as a distinct colony," and specially calling attention to the Rev. Mr. Seabury, who "we are informed is still detained. If such should be the case, we must entreat your friendly interposition for his immediate discharge; the more especially as, considering his ecclesiastical character (which, perhaps, is venerated by many friends to liberty), the severity which has been used towards him may subject to misconstructions prejudicial to the common cause." The extracts from the newspapers and proceedings referred to in this note are collected and published in the *Manual of the City of New York* for 1868, pp. 813-827.

portunity to take refuge with the Royal army at Brooklyn, which he did on the 1st of September following, and he continued with it on Long Island, and during its progress through Westchester County, eight weeks, and rendered "services not altogether useless." During this absence his home was pillaged, and he, with his family, left destitute. In November, when the Royal army departed the county of Westchester, he was obliged to remove his family to the city of New York for safety. The royalists were there in possession, and remained so until after the peace of 1783 was concluded. He resumed, during this intermediate time, the practice of medicine, in which he was well skilled, as a means of temporary support for his family. In June, 1777, he was appointed by Sir William Howe chaplain to the Provincial Hospital at New York, and in January, 1778, chaplain to the King's American Regiment. He held those offices till he went from New York, on the 7th of June, 1783, direct to England, and there he, in lodgings at No. 393 Oxford Street, London, resolutely and hopefully meditated how best to serve the Church, which was nearest and ever in his heart of hearts.

Seabury had been faithful to the traditions and principles in which he was nurtured. His is an instance of simple-minded, honest devotion. Whether mistaken in its policy or propriety of

duty, the dazzling light of our own success probably lessens our ability clearly to perceive and impartially to judge. And historical justice regards the intention, not the mere result. Those are noble men, says one of our best writers, who dare to fail.[1] Their characters are impressed with the heroic mould. Fixed in heart and definite in thought, their moral and intellectual nature strengthening into immutable principle, at the same time develops into habit. Opinions, when accidental and superficial, float over the wide expanse of such minds as summer clouds. The minute intellect of inferior men has often its moments of triumph over such superior natures. They excel only in the perspicuity of short and sharpsightedness.[2] Seabury had done what he believed to be his duty to the King and to the State: that had passed. His God and the Church remained. To America he would return, and there resume the labor in his Master's vineyard. He was disenthralled from a conscientious, but embarrassing, allegiance. Providence had permitted his native land to be a state without a

[1] Church, Dean of St. Paul's, London.

[2] "Did you never observe," asks Plato, "the narrow intellect flashing from the keen eye of a clever rogue, how clearly his paltry soul sees the way to his end; he is the reverse of blind, but his keen sight is taken into the service of evil, and he is dangerous in proportion to his intelligence?" — *Republic*, vii., p. 519; and t. ii., p. 352, Jowett's *Translation*.

king; it was his cherished task to see that it should have a church, and not without a bishop. *Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo*, was the legend which he adopted to proclaim his design. He saw that his true mission and purpose of life now opened to him. He was sent to be the first bishop of the American Church. The Church of England refused to consecrate him because he persisted in his refusal to take the customary oath of allegiance to the Crown. Principle and affection alike stood between him and that requirement. The independence of his native land was already acknowledged by him who had been his king. It was the United States of America in fact and by right. Greatly as he preferred that his episcopal authority and apostolic power should proceed from the Church of England, by which he had been ordained as deacon and priest, he applied to the Church of Scotland. He was consecrated at Longeau, Aberdeen, on Sunday, November 14, 1784, by Bishop Kilgour, *primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner, who describe themselves in the concordat then made with the American bishop, as "of the Catholic remainder of the ancient church of Scotland."[1] On the Sunday after his arrival in America, June 20, 1785, he preached his first sermon in Newport, Rhode Island, at which place he landed; it was delivered from the

[1] See Appendix B.

pulpit where Berkeley had often proclaimed aspirations that the Church might be "planted" in America.[1] He fixed the seat of his episcopal see in that very Connecticut to which he had been led a prisoner by violent men, paraded as a captive through the streets of its principal city, and immured in its jail for six weeks, insulted and threatened.

"Servant of God, well done! Well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
. . . . . the cause
Of truth, ...
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care,
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse. The easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by a host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorned thou didst depart." [2]

He came there to preach a greater peace than that which had resulted from the shock of arms. He was respected and heard. He was still the same simple, grand, conciliatory, uncompromising man. He omitted nothing that the sacerdotal traditions of time and custom had associated with his high office. In his office he buried his personality, subscribing himself "Samuel of Connecticut," and a mitre, still preserved "with religious

[1] The text was from Hebrews, chap. xii. v. 1, 2; and regarded as remarkably appropriate to the occasion.

[2] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book vi., lines 29–40.

care" in Trinity College, Hartford, pressed his brows.[1] In his private life he was most frugal and unostentatious. His sermons, in their style, remind us of those which Sherlock spoke when Master of the Temple. Perhaps there is a reason why Sherlock's writings had so much influence upon Seabury, for, besides receiving ordination under the supervision of that prelate, "Episcopacy, or the patriarchate," in America, was said to have been first proposed by Bishop Sherlock in the reign of George II. The proposition was coldly received, and he was never afterwards summoned to the Privy Council.[2] The University

[1] On his arrival from England there was a general curiosity to see and to hear him preach, especially in Connecticut, although the mass of the people there, being Congregationalists, and knowing that he had been an active and conspicuous tory, were prejudiced against him. In their fancy, a bishop who was said to prefer monarchy to a republic, and was called "My Lord Bishop," rode in a coach, and appeared in robes unfamiliar and strange to them, was something formidable if not dangerous to the state. When he came to New Haven to preach, soon after his return from England, the church was crowded. Many were necessarily excluded. When the service was over, a man of the middle class met one of his acquaintances at the door, who had been unable to get in. "Well, did you see him?" asked the latter. "Oh yes." "And did he preach?" "Oh yes.' "And was he as proud as Lucifer?" "Not a bit of it: why, he preached in his shirt-sleeves." Physicians who had business to go from town to town went on horseback; all clergymen, except, perhaps, Bishop Seabury, who rode in a coach, traveled in a like way. — *Recollections of a Lifetime*, etc., by S. G. Goodrich (*Peter Parley*), vol. 1, pp. 132, 190, 191.

[2] *Life of Otis*, p. 136.

of Oxford conferred upon Seabury the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.[1] He died suddenly on the twenty-fifth of February, 1796, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His bodily remains are buried in the crypt, beneath St. James' Church, New London, in the State of Connecticut, honored by the reverence of that diocese of which he was the first bishop, and by a people who had learned to esteem and respect him as citizen and prelate.

Such was the noble man whom Hamilton encountered in that remarkable controversy, by which the young collegian showed those talents which made him the "oracle" of his party.

A Convention met in the city of New York on the 20th of April, 1775. Its members had been elected by the counties of the Province, and were empowered simply to choose delegates to the second Continental Congress. It was intended that they should do merely one act which the Colonial Assembly had refused. The Convention, therefore, having chosen delegates, its office was at an end. The day [April 23] after it adjourned, the news of Lexington and Concord reached New York. The committee advised that a Provincial Congress, a body of a permanent and authoritative nature, should be immediately summoned through the People; and, also, a new committee, to con-

[1] December 15, 1777.

sist of one hundred persons,[1] be elected by the freemen and freeholders of the city and county. This would provide for a governing power as extensive as the Province. A call was made by the inhabitants at large for the united "counsel and aid of the Colony; and for its people to associate under all the ties of religion, honor, and love of country; to adopt and endeavor to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by the Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving their constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and offensive acts of the British Parliament; until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on constitutional principles, which is most ardently desired, can be obtained." [2] The Committee of One Hundred was chosen, and authorized to take charge of municipal concerns, by a meeting of citizens which assembled at the Coffee-House.

It will serve a purpose — hereafter to be considered when we treat of Hamilton as the founder of the states in empire — for us to explain here the theoretical idea from which this new representative government was educed.[3] As the authority

[1] Hercules Mulligan was elected a member. The election was held on May 5, 1775. Lindley Murray, the famous grammarian, was also a member.

[2] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, p. 35.

[3] See Jay's letter returning an answer to the official notification

of England was in abeyance or thrown off, for the time being at least, the inherent authority of government, by a law of natural reversion, passed into the hands of the People. No man, or body of men, had power to command any other body of men, or individual; and the structure of government could be raised only on the strength of powers delegated anew to certain persons, for this special purpose, by the willing voice of the People, whom circumstances had made the sole arbiters of their own political state. Hence the primary movement was, to bring the people to understand their interests and act in concert; and the first means used to attain this end had been the establishment, early in the contest, of committees of correspondence in different parts of the country. These committees were chosen by the People in towns, counties, parishes, districts, and smaller communities. They were intrusted with always carefully defined powers, which would enable them to correspond with each other, and to represent in some sort the political views, objects, and interests of their constituents. So necessary was the scheme in itself, and so well adapted to promote the general welfare, that it was acceded to everywhere; and, in a short time, committees were so universally appointed throughout the Colonies,

of his appointment as a delegate to the Congress of 1774, published in the *Life of Jay*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 27. See *ante*, pp. 24–26.

that those inclined to the colonial cause had direct and speedy channels open with each other in every part of the Continent.[1] This increased their confidence, gave harmony to their conduct, and scattered seed for a future union. The delegates to the Continental Congress of 1774 had been chosen in various ways. In Massachusetts, and some other colonies, by the regular assemblies, apparently without any powers directly from the People for this object. In other colonies, they were appointed by a convention of committees elected by the people for that very purpose. Again, as in New York, by committees in their simple capacities as such: the committees first nominating a number of delegates, and then the People approved. Still, it must be seen that, in every method of election, whether to offices of a higher or lower rank, the principle was the same. The leaders were cautious that the power should actually and unmistakably proceed from the People; and it is not likely that in a single elective body on the Continent there was an instance of a per-

[1] "The union, effected among the Colonies, by means of corresponding committees, was a death-blow to the authority of Britain; the Americans were sensible of the advantage, and, as soon as the coöperation of all parts of the Continent was insured, advanced bolder claims, diffused broader principles of government, and assumed with less disguise the port and mien of defiance." — Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 133. This writer is a very earnest, although a not very judicious, apologist for the administration of Lord North.

son taking his seat as a member, without presenting an authenticated and legal certificate that he was validly chosen. To this careful attention to the rights of the People, as the original and imperishable source, — to this endeavor, occasioning all the first springs of government to proceed from them, — must be ascribed, more than to any other reason, their confidence in the rulers of their choice, and an invariable submission to their decrees. Whoever seeks for the cause of this peculiar unanimity will find it in the judicious, uniform, and systematic management of these elections; — an unanimity pervading every act, when all the world, influenced by the warning lessons of history, was expecting discord and dissolution. It existed the first moment that all power was acknowledged to have reverted to its original possessors, the People. It remained till the permanent form of government was consummated in the Republic. Set this fundamental and energizing principle aside, derange or lessen its enlightened and free action, and ours should soon fall into the fate of all other republics — perishing under the corruption of the few or the licentiousness of the many.[1]

The Continental Congress had been in session

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 31–33. The argument of Daniel Webster is a most masterly exposition of the philosophy of this essential principle of political jurisprudence. It will be found in *Webster's Works*, vol. 6, pp. 215–242.

at Philadelphia twelve days, when, on the 22d May, 1775, the new political power, entitled The Provincial Congress, assembled in the city of New York, and assumed the functions of legislation. Of the eighty-one delegates appointed seventy members appeared.

Among these was he whose youth, military genius, noble and beautiful character, high office, and early heroic death, have crystallized his name into one of those historic examples which fame enshrines for emulation. Richard Montgomery was an Irishman. He had been an officer of approved merit in the British army. He was at this time recently married; had settled in Dutchess County, in all the comfort and hopes of domestic happiness, with a purpose to lead the life of a quiet country gentleman. He was present as the member from that his adopted county.

Gouverneur Morris, then in his twenty-third year of age, came first into public duty on this occasion as the delegate from Westchester, his native county; and began that remarkable career, so full of accurate statesmanship, intellectual grace, social distinction, political elevation, brilliant audacity, and libidinous delight.[1] Tall and

[1] The late Duke de Morny, uterine brother of Napoleon III., it is stated on admissible testimony, was a natural descendant of Morris. Madame de Flahaut, afterwards the Baroness de Souza, early in this century, so well known in Europe, and whose correspondence with Morris forms a conspicuous and interesting epi-

handsome in person, of most aristocratic bearing, accomplished and of easy éloquence, the son of Lewis Morris, of Morrisania, was a notable and influential member. His accession to the resistant colonists was justly valued as a most convincing proof that a powerful opposition was abating its hostility and inclining to the support of the Congressional movement.[1] In truth a tide of en-

sode in his memoirs by Jared Sparks, was the mother of the Count de Flahaut, some time Ambassador at the Court of St. James. M. de Flahaut, the father of De Morny, was the son of Gouverneur Morris. The title De Morny was adopted for social and political reasons at the instance of his mother, the Queen Hortense. The former Count de Morny lent himself to the scheme. Madame de Souza educated her grandson while they were at Malmaison. The writer's authority for this statement is the Hon. William Beach Lawrence, the editor of Wheaton's work on *International Law*, and who represented the United States of America in high diplomatic service for so many years at Courts in Europe. Mr. Lawrence's chief informant was Madame de Gallatin, widow of his intimate friend the distinguished Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under the administration of Jefferson.

[1] His paternal grandfather was Chief Justice of the Province of New York, and later in life, Governor of New Jersey. His father was no less eminent, and both were in their time popular leaders of the Assembly and of the people against the arbitrary abuse of power and exactions of money by the Governors. The early stand which Gouverneur and his step-brother Lewis took against the revolt of the Colonies arose from their violent prejudices against New England; and the appearance of Gouveneur as a delegate at that moment was an assurance that the merits of the case for the colonists had overborne not only their antipathy but that of others of the party to which they belonged, and who had a like inimical disposition. Gouverneur Morris was a looker-on at the meeting held under the auspices of Sears, M'Dougal, Lamb,

lightened opinion was arising, which none could allay nor stem, and which soon was to overwhelm all those who dared oppose its course.

and other Sons of Liberty, at the Coffee House, on May 19, 1774. The day after he wrote the following letter, so valuable as evidence showing how repugnant to his powerful coterie were the motives and objects which they supposed to inspire all New England. The letter was written to Richard Penn: —

"You have heard, and you will hear, a great deal about politics, and in the heap of chaff you may find some grains of good sense. Believe me, sir, freedom and religion are only watch-words. We have appointed a Committee, or rather we have nominated one. Let me give you the history of it. . . . . The troubles in America during Grenville's administration put our gentry upon this finesse. They stimulated some daring coxcombs to rouse the mob into an attack upon the bounds of order and decency. These fellows became the Jack Cades of the day, the leaders in all riots, the bell-wethers of the flock. The reason of the maneuver in those, who wished to keep fair with government, and at the same time to receive the incense of popular applause, you will readily perceive. On the whole, the shepherds were not much to blame in a politic point of view. The bell-wethers jingled merrily, and roared out liberty, and property, and religion, and a multitude of cant terms, which every one thought he understood, and was egregiously mistaken. For you must know the shepherds kept the dictionary of the day, and like the mysteries of the ancient mythology, it was not for profane eyes or ears. This answered many purposes; the simple flock put themselves entirely under the protection of these most excellent shepherds. By and by behold a great metamorphosis without the help of Ovid or his divinities, but entirely effectuated by two modern genii, the god of ambition and the goddess of faction. The first of these prompted the shepherds to shear some of their flock, and then, in conjunction with the other, converted the bell-wethers into shepherds. That we have been in hot water with the British Parliament ever since, everybody knows. Consequently these new shepherds had their hands full of employment. The old ones kept themselves least in sight, and a want of

The Provincial Congress gave speedily recognition [May 15] to the power of the General Congress in session at Philadelphia, as a body author-

confidence in each other was not the least evil which followed. The port of Boston has been shut up. These sheep, simple as they are, cannot be gulled as heretofore. In short, there is no ruling them; and now, to leave the metaphor, the heads of the mobility grow dangerous to the gentry, and how to keep them down is the question. While they correspond with the other colonies, call and dismiss popular assemblies, make resolves to bind the consciences of the rest of mankind, bully poor printers, and exert with full force all their other tribunitial powers, it is impossible to curb them. But art sometimes goes farther than force, and therefore to trick them handsomely, a committee of patricians was to be nominated, and into their hands was to be committed the majesty of the people, and the highest trust was to be reposed in them by a mandate, that they should take care, *quod respublica non capiat injuriam*. The tribunes, through want of a good legerdermain in the senatorial order, perceived the finesse, and yesterday I was present at a grand division of the city, and there I beheld my fellow-citizens very accurately counting all their chickens, not only before any of them were hatched, but before above one half the eggs were laid. In short, they fairly contended about the future forms of our government, whether it should be founded upon Aristocratic or Democratic principles. 'I stood in the balcony, and on my right hand were ranged all the people of property, with some few poor dependants, and on the other all the tradesmen, etc., who thought it worth their while to leave daily labor for the good of the country. The spirit of the English Constitution has a little influence left, and but a little. . . . . The mob begin to think and to reason. . . . . The gentry begin to fear this. Their committee will be appointed, they will deceive the people, and again forfeit a share of their confidence. And if these instances of what with one side is policy, with the other perfidy, shall continue to increase, and become more frequent, farewell aristocracy. I see, and I see it with fear and trembling, that if the disputes with Britain continue, we shall be under the worst of all possible domin-

ized to act for and on behalf of all the Colonies. Intelligence was brought that reënforcements from England were on the way, under the command of

ions. We shall be under the domination of a riotous mob. It is the interest of all men, therefore, to seek for reunion with the parent state. . . . ." — Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 23–25.

The foregoing letter expresses a phase of opinion in which many took part. Gouverneur Morris was educated in a social and political atmosphere where nothing of New England origin could exist. His case was not peculiar; only an instance of a large class in New York and in other provinces among the well-to-do and "the gentry." A clause in the will of Lewis Morris, the Chief Justice, is an instance, showing the intensity of this feeling: "It is my wish that my son Gouverneur shall have the best education that can be furnished in England or America, but my express will and direction are, that under no circumstances shall he be sent to the colony of Connecticut for that purpose, lest in his youth he should imbibe that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country, and which are so interwoven in their constitution that they cannot conceal it from the world, though many of them, under the sanctified garb of religion, have attempted to impose themselves upon the world as honest men." The will is recorded in *Liber* 23, p. 426, in the office of the Surrogate of New York, and its date of probate is November 19, 1760.

During the session of the Continental Congress sitting at this time [1775] in Philadelphia, an incident occurred, while the mission of Penn to England was under debate, which forcibly illustrates the strength and prevalence of this antipathy throughout the middle colonies. The story is told by John Adams himself: "When the party had prepared the members of Congress for their purpose, and indeed had made no small impression on three of my own colleagues, Mr. Dickinson made, or procured to be made, a motion for a second petition to the King. . . . . I was opposed to it, of course. . . . . Mr. Dickinson began to tremble for his cause. I was called out, ... very much to my regret, to some one who had business with me. Mr. Dickinson observed me, and darted

Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. Part of these troops being expected to land at New York, a request was sent to the General Congress for advice how the inhabitants should conduct themselves. They were answered, with the approving concurrence of their representative Jay and his colleagues, not to oppose the landing of such troops; to suffer them to erect fortifications; to act on the defensive simply; and to repel force by force only when that became necessary to protect inhabitants and their property. But the destination of those troops was Boston; they arrived there on the 25th of May, and the name of Bunker Hill was the next month added to those of Lexington and Concord.

Thus the first important decision of the General Congress related to New York. On Sunday, June 25, Washington, on his way to take com-

out after me. He broke out upon me in a most abrupt and extraordinary manner; in as violent a passion as he was capable of feeling, and with an air, countenance, and gestures as rough and haughty as if I had been a school-boy and he the master. He vociferated, 'What is the reason, Mr. Adams, that you New England men oppose our measures of conciliation? There now is Sullivan, in a long harangue, following you in a determined opposition to our petition to the King. Look ye! If you don't concur with us in our pacific system, I and a number of us will break from you in New England, and we will carry on the opposition in our own way.' I was, as it happened, at that moment in a very happy temper, and answered him very coolly." —*Works of John Adams*, vol. 2, pp. 409, 410. See also *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, pp. 164–170.

mand of the army, arrived at New York. General Richard Montgomery and Gouverneur Morris were of the Committee which received him on behalf the Provincial Congress. Tryon, the royal governor, had arrived the day before, and was to land from the harbor; but night had fallen before he came ashore. His reception convinced him that a sudden change in sentiments and measures had taken place. Surprised and humiliated, he assumed an air of passive sufferance, and indulged himself in bland professions. Washington perceived his insincerity, had no doubt concerning the propriety of seizing him, directed General Schuyler to keep a watch on his conduct, and wrote a warning to Congress.[1]

It was the next day but one that the plan for conciliation with England was proposed, which was sent to Congress, and coöperated so opportunely with the purpose to send Richard Penn to England as the bearer of a last petition.[2]

Gouverneur Morris was a member of the Committee on defensive military preparation. The subject which more than any other occupied their attention was the currency — a paper currency;

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, p. 358; and vol. 8, pp. 32, 32; *Life of John Jay*, vol. 1, pp. 32, 33.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 280, 281; and see Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 46–48, where the plan is very completely set forth in detail and scope.

their only money-sinew of war. A day was announced when Mr. Morris should be heard on it. The House was to be opened to strangers, and the merchants and others specially interested invited to attend, and hear the debate. Mr. Morris' speech was looked upon as a remarkable instance of eloquence and argument. He advanced and maintained opinions then new to all. They were ultimately esteemed and generally acknowledged to be just; and have since become familiar. A deep sense of the importance of his argument, and great confidence in his own powers,[1] conspired to quicken his energies, and enabled him to find his way to the sympathies of his hearers and captivate their understanding.[2] Had the fame subsequently gained by Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury not overshadowed all others, the reputation of Morris as a financier would be respected as second only to that of Robert Morris.

About this time a memorable topic engaged the attention of the Provinces of New York and of New England. It was fraught with consequents far beyond the ken of human vision. The project known as the Quebec Act, introduced into the House of Commons the previous year,[3]

[1] He said of himself, that he was never conscious of fear nor inferiority.

[2] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, p. 39.

[3] May 2, 1774.

aroused, as it was malignantly designed to do, animosities between those Provinces and the French inhabitants of Canada.[1] Its object was strictly a war measure on the part of the Ministry. When England acquired Canada by the peace of 1763 from France, that, bringing Canada under the English dominion, relieved the New England Colonies from the active hostilities of a people with whom those Colonies were ever at enmity — aliens, as the New England Colonists would have said, in blood and religion. The burning sources of this unquenchable antipathy were to be found away back, even before the times when the Englishry and the French contended for conquest and supremacy, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, along the shores of the great lakes, and through the valleys of the Ohio. The passage of the Quebec Bill revived in the breast of Catholic, Huguenot, and Puritan animosities which hovered, as harpy followers, about struggles and epithets which belonged to dark scenes in European history. The Quebec scheme was one of subtle and refined mischief. The "Prince" of the misunderstood Machiavelli images no design more instinct with the cunning of vitiated human intellect. To bring those jealousies and fears into the service of the Ministry was the practical ob-

[1] *Ante*, pp. 185, 186.

ject hid in the guise of the Quebec Act. Besides, its policy would increase to a restoration of "the check," inevitably resulting from the presence of the hereditary enemy along the borders of New York and New England; compensate for the error of 1763;[1] and still retain Canada in an allegiance to the English Crown.

The Continental Congress of 1774 ardently wished to arrest such an unnatural and mutually destructive antagonism. Therefore its address to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec.[2] The debates[3] in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords revealed the character of the bill as a warlike measure. "It is necessary," it was avowed, "to conciliate the affections of the Canadians, and thereby induce them to assist the administration to coerce America." Men join in hate who never join in love. When the Continental Congress reassembled in May, 1775, again was sent forth an address soliciting the friend-

[1] Speaking of this event to Lord Stormont, M. de Vergennes observed: "I was at Constantinople when the last peace was made. I told several of my friends there that I was persuaded England would not be long before she had reason to repent of having removed the only check that would keep her Colonies in awe; my prediction has been but too well verified." — Lord Stormont to Lord Rochford, October 3, 1775, quoted in Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 134. See *ante*, p. 194.

[2] October 26, 1774. — *Journal of the Proceedings of Congress*, pp. 118–131.

[3] May 2 to June 22, 1775.

ship of the Canadians, urging them to assert their rights, and admonishing them against hostilities. Nothing came to America herself from these propitiating offers of friendship. But the Quebec Act bore an engrafted fruit. Therein to-day we see "how Catholic emancipation began:" for the trouble with the thirteen Colonies led the Ministry to the "first step in the emancipation of Catholics: and, with no higher object in view than to strengthen the authority of the King in America, the Quebec Act of 1774 began that series of concessions which did not cease till the British Parliament itself, and the high offices of administration," were accessible to them.[1]

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 153–160.

It is curious to reflect that the Duke of Wellington, the man who was destined thirty-six years later to be mainly instrumental in the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, made his first speech in the Irish Parliament in 1793, when he was yet Captain Arthur Wellesley and a member of that body, in favor of such a measure of relief. — Madden's *Historical Notice of Penal Laws against Roman Catholics*, pp. 22, 52. The following is the substance reported of this interesting historical beginning of the public political career of "the Iron Duke;" and is worth preserving for its own value. "The Hon. Mr. Wellesley said: In regard to what has been recommended in the speech from the throne, respecting our Catholic fellow-subjects, he could not repress expressing his approbation on that head; he had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country; and he trusted that when the question would be brought forward respecting that description of men that we would lay aside animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans." — *Debates in the Parliament of Ireland* (Dublin, 1793), pp. 17, 18, 274.

Hamilton, as the public were led to expect,[1] published on June 15, 1775, — two days before the conflict on Bunker Hill, — his "Remarks on the Quebec Bill." Those remarks were brief and sufficient, — a full exposition of the entire subject. They examined into the terms of the act; exhibited its character, by which the laws and government of the Province of Quebec, in its vastly enlarged domain, was placed under the sole direction of the King; conferred on him personally extraordinary and dangerous prerogatives; establishing an arbitrary government unknown to England, even in the days of William Rufus, Henry II., or the Stuarts, and intolerable to the principles of the English Constitution. By its provisions, also, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Canada were invited to become an established Church, under the protection and supervision of the Protestant Crown of England.[2] And an almost boundless extent of country was added to Canada, uniting into its one province the entire country northwest of the Ohio, to the head of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, and consolidating in the hands of the executive all authority

[1] "In compliance with my promise to the public, and in order to rescue truth from the specious disguise with which it has been clothed, I shall now offer a few remarks on the Act," etc. — *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, p. 127.

[2] Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, pp. 94–101; *History of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 98.

over this wide expanse of territory. The following extracts from the "Remarks" show to us some specimens of the fitness of language and force of thought which so early marked the writings of this youth, then in the nineteenth year of his age:

"However justifiable this Act may be, in relation to the Province of Quebec, with its ancient limits, it cannot be defended by the least possible pretext when it is considered as annexing such a boundless extent of new territory to the old.

"If a free form of government had 'been found by experience to be inapplicable to the state and circumstances of the Province;' and if 'a toleration less generous, although it might have fulfilled the letter of the articles of the treaty, would not have answered the expectations of the Canadians, nor have left upon their minds favorable impressions of British justice and honor;' if these reasons be admitted as true, and allowed their greatest weight, they only prove that it might be just and politic to place the Province of Quebec alone, with its former boundaries, in the circumstances of civil and religious government which are established by this Act. But when it is demanded, why it has also added the immense tract of country that surrounds all these colonies to that Province, and has placed the whole under the same exceptional institutions, both civil and religious? — the advocates for administration must be confounded and silent.

"This Act develops the dark designs of the Ministry more fully than anything they have done; and shows that they have formed a systematic project of absolute power.

"The present policy is evidently this. By giving a legal sanction to the accustomed dues of the priests, it was intended to interest them in behalf of the administration; and by means of the dominion they possessed over the minds of

the laity, together with the appearance of good-will towards their religion, to prevent any dissatisfaction which might arise from the loss of their civil rights; and to propitiate them to the great purposes in contemplation: first, the subjugation of the Colonies; and afterwards, that of Great Britain itself.[1] It was necessary to throw out some lure to reconcile them to the exactions of that power which has been communicated to the King, and which the emergency of the times may require in a very extensive degree. The future policy of it demands particular attention. . . . . Hence, while our ears are stunned with the dismal sounds of New England's republicanism, bigotry, and intolerance, it behooves us to be upon our guard against the deceitful wiles of those who would persuade us that we have nothing to fear from the operation of the Quebec Act. We should consider it as being replete with danger to ourselves, and as threatening ruin to our posterity." [2]

Concerning the intended effect of the Act upon the civic governance, polity, and judicial organization of the extended territory of the Province, Hamilton observes: —

"While Canada was under the dominion of France, the French laws and customs were in force there; which are regulated in conformity to the genius and complexion of a despotic constitution, and expose the lives and properties of subjects to continual depredations from the malice and avarice of those in authority. But when it fell under the dominion of Great Britain, these laws, so unfriendly to the

[1] *Ante*, p. 51. The following year [1776] the Rev. John Carroll, subsequently the first Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, went on behalf of the Colonies as member of a commission to Canada.

[2] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 136–138.

happiness of society, gave place, of course, to the milder influence of the English laws; and his Majesty, by proclamation, promised to all those who should settle there a full enjoyment of the rights of British subjects. In violation of this promise, the Act before us declares, 'That the said proclamation, and the commission under the authority whereof the government of the said Province is at present administered, be, and the same are, hereby revoked, annulled, and made void, from and after the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.' This abolition of the privileges stipulated by the proclamation was not inflicted as a penalty for any crime by which a forfeiture had been incurred; but merely on pretense of the present form of government having been found by experience to be inapplicable to the state and circumstances of the Province.

"I have never heard any satisfactory account concerning the foundation of this pretense; for it does not appear that the people of Canada, at large, ever expressed a discontent with their new establishment, or solicited a restoration of their old. They were, doubtless, the most proper judges of the matter, and ought to have been fully consulted before the alteration was made. If we may credit the general current of intelligence which we have had respecting the disposition of the Canadians, we must conclude they are averse to the present regulation of the Parliament, and had rather continue under the form of government instituted by the royal proclamation. However this be, the French laws are again revived." [1]

After reciting the several enactments, he adds: —

"If this does not make the King absolute in Canada, I am at a loss for any tolerable idea of absolute authority; which

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 127, 128.

I have ever thought to consist, with respect to a monarch, in the power of governing his people according to the dictates of his own will. . . . . There must be an end of all liberty where the prince is possessed of such an exorbitant prerogative as enables him, at pleasure, to establish the most iniquitous, cruel, and oppressive courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and to appoint temporary judges and officers, whom he can displace and change as often as he pleases. For what can more nearly concern the safety and happiness of subjects than the wise economy and equitable constitution of those courts in which trials for life, liberty, property, and religion are to be conducted? . . . . Since the whole legislative, executive, and judiciary powers are ultimately and effectually, though not immediately, lodged in the King; there can be room to doubt that an arbitrary government has been really instituted throughout the extensive region now comprised in the Province of Quebec." [1]

Hamilton kept his pen busy during the whole of the year 1775. The subjects which engaged him were important, various, and urgent. Leading men looked to him as particularly well qualified for this work. John Jay, while absent attending the Continental Congress that year at Philadelphia, wrote, December 5, to Alexander M'Dougall: "I hope Mr. Hamilton continues busy: I have not received Holt's paper these three months; and, therefore, cannot judge of the progress he makes." [2]

But his two pamphlets in answer to the "West-

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 128–131.

[2] Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. 1, p. 63.

chester Farmer" — for usefulness and fame — transcended all his other publications during that year. Their strength of argument and directness of purpose, the knowledge they disclosed of the material resources and political circumstances of the country in its internal relations, the just conception of the merits of the controversy between the Colonies and England, and the sober certainty with which he pointed out wherein lay at least one peculiar and abundant culture, rich in the promise of national wealth — these were the qualities that imparted an immediate interest to the publications, and a value permanent beyond the occasion of their origin. The argument made by Hamilton directed attention chiefly to the reasons whereon the right and prudence of resistance were founded, — proved that the resistance offered by the colonists to the ministerial measures was justified by the principles of the Constitution of England, — gave an exposition of existing, and presented suggestions as to probable, physical resources of the country contributing plenteously to its material for wealth, — and contended that the Congress itself had, by the character of the men who composed it, the number and dignity of their constituents, and the important ends for which they were appointed, manifested a unity of interest, convictions, and purpose, which ought to persuade all reasonable people that faction had no

part in a movement so prudent, decorous, and universal.

Hamilton presents the issue in these words: —

"What is the subject of our controversy with the mother country? It is this: Whether we shall preserve that security to our lives and properties which the law of nature, the genius of the British Constitution, and our charters, afford us; or whether we shall resign them into the hands of the British House of Commons, which is no more privileged to dispose of them than the Great Mogul? What can actuate those men who labor to delude any of us into an opinion that the object of contention between the parent state and the Colonies is only threepence duty upon tea? or that the commotions in America originate in a plan, formed by some turbulent men, to erect it into a republican government? The Parliament claims a right to tax us in all cases whatsoever; its late acts are in virtue of that claim. How ridiculous, then, is it to affirm, that we are quarreling for the trifling sum of threepence a pound on tea, when it is evidently the principle against which we contend! The design of electing members to represent us in general Congress was, that the wisdom of America might be collected in devising the most proper and expedient means to repel this atrocious invasion of our rights. It has been accordingly done. Their decrees are binding upon all, and demand a religious observance."[1]

Having stated the precise issue, Hamilton then insists that the system of aggression fabricated against America cannot, any longer, be considered as the effect of inconsideration and rashness: —

"It is the offspring of mature deliberation. It has been

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, p. 4.

fostered by time, and strengthened by every artifice human subtlety is capable of. After the claims of Parliament had lain dormant for awhile, they are again resumed and prosecuted with more than common ardor. The Premier has advanced too far to recede with safety. He is deeply interested to execute his purpose, if possible. We know he has declared that he will never desist till he has brought America to his feet; and we may conclude nothing but necessity will induce him to abandon his aims. In common life, to retract an error, even in the beginning, is no easy task; perseverance confirms us in it, and rivets the difficulty. But in a public station, to have been in an error, and to have persisted in it when it is detected, ruins both reputation and fortune. To this we may add, that disappointment and opposition inflame the minds of men, and attach them still more to their mistakes. What can we represent which has not already been represented? What petitions can we offer that have not already been offered? The rights of America, and the injustice of parliamentary pretensions, have been clearly and repeatedly stated, both in and out of Parliament. No new arguments can be framed to operate in our favor. . . . . The exigency of the times requires vigorous and probable remedies; not weak and improbable." [1]

After vindicating the justice and policy of the measures which Congress proposed, he, in several passages, suggests principles of a protective system for home industries: —

"Were I to argue in a philosophical manner, I might say, the obligation to a mutual intercourse, in the way of trade, with the inhabitants of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, is of the *imperfect* kind. There is no law, either of nature or of the civil society in which we live, that obliges us

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 1, pp. 6, 7.

to purchase and make use of the products and manufactures of a different land or people. It is indeed a dictate of humanity to contribute to the support and happiness of our fellow-creatures, and more especially those who are allied to us by the ties of blood, interest, and mutual protection ; but humanity does not require us to sacrifice our own security and welfare to the convenience or advantage of others. Self-preservation is the first principle of our nature. . . . . We can live without trade of any kind. Food and clothing we have within ourselves. Our climate produces cotton, wool, flax, and hemp ; which, with proper cultivation, would furnish us with summer apparel in abundance. The article of cotton, indeed, would do more ; it would contribute to defend us from the inclemency of winter. We have sheep, which, with due care in improving and increasing them, would soon yield a sufficiency of wool. The large quantity of skins we have among us, would never let us want a warm and comfortable suit. It would be no unbecoming employment for our daughters to provide silks of their own country. The silk-worm answers as well here as in any part of the world. Those hands which may be deprived of business by the cessation of commerce, may be occupied in various kinds of manufactures and other internal improvements. If, by the necessity of the thing, manufactures should once be established . . . . among us, they will pave the way still more to the future grandeur and glory of America ; and, by lessening its need of external commerce, will render it still securer against encroachments." . . . . "With respect to cotton, you do not pretend to deny that a sufficient quantity of that might be produced. Several of the Southern Colonies are so favorable to it that, with due cultivation, in a couple of years, they would afford enough to clothe the whole Continent."[1]

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 12, 13, 113.

These, surely, are deep and sober thoughts to have come from the brain of one so young. Read at this present time, when we are surrounded by the evidences of American material progress, in the plenitude and perfection of agricultural and mechanical productions, — when every region of the earth, acknowledging their worth and abundance, looks day by day to the harvests of our fields, the treasures of our mines, the skilled enterprise of our artisans, to replenish their own deficiencies: we must be persuaded that the wisdom of Hamilton was not only beyond his years, but at least equal to that of the ablest, oldest, and foremost public men of that period.

In the second pamphlet he takes a survey of the political history of the Colonies so as to cast a full light upon the merits of the contest.[1] In exactness, fullness, and pertinency, as a practical exposition of this part of the case, it is even more satisfactory than the similar history of the Colonies which Edmund Burke gives in his famous speeches on American Taxation and Conciliation with America. It is in this answer to the "Westchester Farmer" that Hamilton pays a special attention to the doctrine of "parliamentary supremacy." A few extracts will be enough to show the spirit and scope with which it is treated by him: —

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, p. 65.

"The House of Commons receives all its authority from its electors, in consequence of the right they have to a share in the legislature. Its electors are freeholders, citizens, and others, in Great Britain. It follows, therefore, that all its authority is confined to Great Britain. This is demonstrative. Sophistry, by an artful play of ambiguous terms, may perplex and obscure it; but reason can never confute it. The power which one society bestows upon any man, or body of men, can never extend beyond its own limits. The people of Great Britain may confer an authority over themselves, but they can never confer any over the people of America, because it is impossible for them to give *that* to another which they never possessed themselves. Now, I should be glad to see an attempt to prove that a freeholder, citizen, or any other man in Great Britain, has any inherent right to the life, property, or liberty, of a freeholder, citizen, or any other man in America. He can have no original and intrinsic right, because nature has distributed an equality of rights to every man. He can have no secondary or derivative right, because the only thing which could give him that is wanting — the consent of the natural proprietor. . . . . When I say that the authority of Parliament is confined to Great Britain, I speak of it in its primitive and original state. Parliament may acquire an incidental influence over others, but this must be by their own free consent; for without this, any power it might exercise would be mere usurpation, and by no means a just authority. The best way of determining disputes, and of investigating truth, is by descending to elementary principles. . . . . Let me remark, that I have leveled my battery chiefly against the authority of the House of Commons over America; because, if that be proved not to exist, the dispute is at an end."[1]

In the following sentences we get his earliest

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 52, 53.

expression of the feasibility of a number of individual bodies politic being united under one common head, where the several members, though each independent in its own allotted sphere, may "form but one State." It was an idea germinating from the ancient nature and recurring necessities of the Colonies; and one which persuasively grew, and remained in the permanent formation of the final union between the independent States of America. The "Farmer" had said that, —

"In every government there must be a supreme, absolute authority lodged somewhere. In arbitrary governments, this power is in the monarch; in aristocratical governments, in the nobles; in democratical, in the people, or the deputies of their electing. Our own government, being a mixture of all these kinds, the supreme authority is vested in the King, nobles, and people; namely, the King, House of Lords, and House of Commons elected by the people. The supreme authority extends as far as the British dominions extend. To suppose a part of the British dominions which is not subject to the power of the British legislature, is no better sense than to suppose a country, at one and the same time, to be, and not to be, a part of the British dominions. If, therefore, the colony of New York is a part of the British dominions, the colony of New York is subject to, and dependent on, the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain."

To this proposition Hamilton, quoting the entire sentence, replied: —

"This argument is the most specious of any the advocates for parliamentary supremacy are able to produce; but when we come to anatomize, and closely examine every part of it,

we shall discover that it is entirely composed of distorted and misapplied principles, together with ambiguous and equivocal terms.

"The first branch is, that 'in every government there must be a supreme absolute authority lodged somewhere.' This position, when properly explained, is evidently just. In every civil society there must be a supreme power, to which all the members of that society are subject; for otherwise there could be no supremacy, or subordination; that is, no government at all. But no use can be made of this principle beyond matter of fact. To infer from thence, that unless a supreme absolute authority be vested in one part of an empire over all the other parts, there can be no government in the whole, is false and absurd. Each branch may enjoy a distinct, complete legislature, and still good government may be preserved everywhere. It is in vain to assert that two or more distinct legislatures cannot exist in the same State. If, by the same State, he meant the same individual community, it is true. Thus, for instance, there cannot be two supreme legislatures in Great Britain, nor two in New York. But if, by the same State, he understood a number of individual societies, or bodies politic, united under one common head, then I maintain, that there may be one distinct, complete legislature in each. Thus there may be one in Great Britain, another in Ireland, and another in New York; and still these several parts may form but one State. In order to do this, there must indeed be some connecting, pervading principle; but this is found in the person and prerogative of the King. He it is that conjoins all these individual societies into one great body politic. He it is that is to preserve their mutual connection and dependence, and make them all coöperate to one common end, the general good. His power is equal to the purpose; and his interest binds him to the due prosecution of it.

"Those who aver that the independency of America on the

British Parliament implies two sovereign authorities in the same State deceive themselves, or wish to deceive others, in two ways: by confounding the idea of the same State with that of the same individual society; and by losing sight of that share which the King has in the sovereignty, both of Great Britain and America. Perhaps, indeed, it may with propriety be said, that the King is the only sovereign of the empire. The part which the people have in the legislature may more justly be considered as a limitation of the sovereign authority to prevent its being exercised in an oppressive and despotic manner. Monarchy is universally allowed to predominate in the Constitution. In this view, there is not the least absurdity in the supposition that Americans have a right to a limitation similar to that of the people of Great Britain. At any rate, there can never be said to be two sovereign powers in the same State, while *one common King* is acknowledged by every member of it.

"Let us, for a moment, imagine the legislature of New York independent of that of Great Britain. Where would be the mighty inconvenience? How would government be frustrated, or obstructed, by this means? In what manner would they interfere with each other? In none, that I can perceive. The affairs of government might be conducted with the greatest harmony, and, by the mediation of the King, directed to the same end. He (as I before observed) will be the great connecting principle. The several parts of the empire, though otherwise independent of each other, will all be dependent on him. He must guide the vast and complicated machine of government to the reciprocal advantage of all his dominions. There is not the least contradiction in this; no *imperium in imperio*, as is maintained: for the power of each distinct branch will be limited to itself; and the authority of his Majesty over the whole will, like a central force, attract them all to the same point.

"The second part of your paragraph is this: 'In arbitrary

governments, this (supreme, absolute) power is in the monarch; in aristocratical governments, in the nobles; in democratical, in the people, or the deputies of their electing. Our own government being a mixture of all these kinds, the supreme authority is vested in the King, nobles, and people; that is, in the King, House of Lords, and House of Commons elected by the people.'

"You are mistaken when you confine arbitrary government to a monarchy. It is not the supreme power being placed in one instead of many, that discriminates an arbitrary from a free government. When any people are ruled by laws in framing which they have no part, that are to bind them, to all intents and purposes, without, in the same manner, binding the legislators themselves, they are, in the strictest sense, slaves; and the government, with respect to them, is despotic. Great Britain is itself a free country; but it is only so because its inhabitants have a share in the legislature. If they were once divested of that they would cease to be free. So that, if its jurisdiction be extended over other countries that have no actual share in its legislature, it becomes arbitrary to them; because they are destitute of those checks and controls which constitute that moral security which is the very essence of civil liberty.

"I will go further and assert that the authority of the British Parliament over America would, in all probability, be a more intolerable and excessive species of despotism than an absolute monarchy. The power of an absolute prince is not temporary but perpetual. He is under no temptation to purchase the favor of one part of his dominions at the expense of another; but it is his interest to treat them all upon the same footing. Very different is the case with regard to the Parliament. The Lords and Commons, both, have a private and separate interest to pursue. They must be wonderfully disinterested if they would not make us bear a very disproportional part of the public burthens, to avoid them as much

as possible themselves. The people of Britain must, *in reality*, be an order of superior beings, not cast in the same mould with the common, degenerate race of mortals, if the sacrifice of our interest and ease to theirs be not extremely welcome and alluring. But should experience teach us that they are only mere mortals, fonder of themselves than their neighbors; the philanthropy and integrity of their representatives will be of a transcendent and matchless nature, should they not gratify the natural propensities of their constituents in order to ingratiate themselves and enhance their popularity."[1]

It will be remarked in this passage how distinctly he puts it that it is legislative freedom from the Parliament, and not a separation from the Crown, which, as a defensive measure, was growing to be desirable.

Of himself, personally, he speaks in several parts of these publications in reply to the "Westchester Farmer": —

"'Artifice, sophistry, misrepresentation, and abuse;' these you call 'my weapons, and these I wield like an old, experienced practitioner.' . . . . Throughout your letter, you seem to consider me as a person who has acted, and is still acting, some part in the formation and execution of public measures. You tacitly represent me as a delegate, or member of the Committee. Whether this be done with a design to create a suspicion of my sincerity, or whether it be really your opinion, I know not. Perhaps it is from a complex motive. But I can assure you, if you are in earnest, that you are entirely mistaken. I have taken no other part in the affair than that of defending the proceedings of the Congress, in conversation and by the pamphlet I lately published. I ap-

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 54–57.

prove of them, and think an undeviating compliance with them essential to the preservation of American freedom. I shall, therefore, strenuously exert myself to that valuable end."[1] . . . .

"Whatever opinion may be entertained of my sentiments and intentions, I attest that Being whose all-seeing eye penetrates the inmost recesses of the heart, that I am not influenced (in the part I take) by any unworthy motive. — That if I am in an error, it is my judgment, not my heart, that errs. — That I earnestly lament the unnatural quarrel between the parent State and the Colonies, and most ardently wish for a speedy reconciliation — a perpetual and *mutually* beneficial union. — That I am a warm advocate for limited monarchy, and an unfeigned well-wisher to the present Royal Family."[2]

These pamphlets will evince an important significance whenever we treat of Hamilton as a founder of the American States in Empire. They are remarkable certainly as testimony to his early intellectual maturity. But they are of greater value historically, being of the substance of his mental development, when we consider that in them are to be seen conceptions which grew into fruitful acts of consummate achievement and enduring statesmanship.

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 40, 41.
[2] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, p. 125.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LIFE AND EPOCH.

[1775–1776.]

ÆTAT. 18–19.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1775–1776.]

THE encircling horizon, growing dark with the gathering clouds of war, cast shadows upon the land. Above the ruins of Charlestown glittered the white tents of the entrenched British encampment on the heights of Bunker Hill. From the west end of Dorchester to Malden, a space of nine miles, lay, at irregular distances, in a semicircle, the raw material which, under the orderly and irresistible energy of Washington, was forming the American Army. In Georgia and the Carolinas the warm blood of the Celtic colonists [1]

[1] "Many of the inhabitants of North Western Scotland . . . . listened to overtures from those who had obtained concessions of vast domains, and migrated to Middle Carolina; tearing themselves, with bitterest grief, from kindred whose sorrow at parting admitted no consolation. Those who went first reported favorably of the clear, sunny clime, where every man might have land of his own; the distance and the voyage lost their terrors; and from the isles of Rasay and Skye whole neighborhoods formed parties for removal, sweetening their exile by carrying with them their costume and opinions, their old Celtic language and songs. Distinguished above them all was Allen Macdonald of Kingsborough, and his wife Flora Macdonald, the same who in the summer of 1746 . . . . had rescued Prince Charles Edward from his pursuers, with a

was quickened by the news from Lexington, Concord, and Boston ; actions of a warlike character were undertaken by them ; and it was known that General Gage had advised from Boston that the Indians should be incited to take up arms whenever opportunity offered against those colonists : " no terms were to be kept with them now." The riflemen of Virginia had repulsed an attack of what already began to be called " the enemy; " killing some and wounding many; and Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, had raised the King's standard, declared martial law, required those capable of bearing arms to gather around the standard, and promised freedom to "all indented servants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels," who would aid in "reducing the colony to a proper sense of its duty."

The Province of New York was exposed to a

self-possession, fertility of resources, courage, and fidelity, that are never mentioned but to her honor. Compelled by poverty, they had removed to North America in 1774, and made their new home in the west of Cumberland county. She was now about fifty-five, mother of many children, of middle stature, soft features, uncommonly mild and gentle manners, and elegant presence." — Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 7, pp. 93, 94. Dr. Johnson, during his journey to the Hebrides, in 1773, visited Flora and her husband; and Boswell (see his *Life of Johnson*, vol. 4, pp. 203, 208, 288, 329) relates the incidents, with full descriptions of the persons and manners of the heroine and her husband, and says that they were "going to try their fortune in America." They returned to Skye, where she died on the 4th of March, 1790.

peculiar jeopardy. Sir Guy Carleton, the British general and the Governor of Canada, determined to retake Ticonderoga, which had been unwarrantably captured by Ethan Allen and his followers the previous May.[1] The Continental Congress had not approved that unauthorized exploit of Allen, and, in explicit terms, disavowed any intention of invading Canada. Still, Carleton, as the Governor of Canada, proclaimed the borderers on the American side of the territorial line traitors; summoned the old French peasantry of his Province to arms; and encouraged the Indian tribes, converted and savage, to take up the hatchet against the inhabitants of New England and New York. Peril, with unusually destructive and uncivilized capability, was imminent. The Continental Congress could no longer adhere to its policy restraining the invasion of Canada. So the expediency of taking possession of the Province of Quebec was, at last, sanctioned, as a means necessary to guard on the frontiers against Indian incursions, and, besides, to display at once the spirit and strength of the confederated colonies. Such an expedition was ordered. Philip Schuyler was appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York, Major-general, and Richard Montgomery, Brigadier-general, to command and organize it. Those appointments were confirmed by the Con-

[1] *Ante*, p. 280.

tinental Congress; and thus, by the union of general and local powers, there was imparted an unquestionable authority to the movement, and a recognition in this further instance was given to the reciprocal and common relations of the Continental and Provincial governments. The sole command, however, before any serviceable advance was achieved, fell, owing to the continued severe illness of Schuyler, into the hands of Montgomery; and he, without delay, conducted the brilliant and memorable campaign, which, achieving victory after victory, received a sudden, final, and disastrous end by the death of its heroic leader on the night of December 31, 1775. He was killed in the first step of an assault which he headed, ascending the narrow defile now called the Pres-de-Ville, on the acclivity of the heights of Quebec. A few days before the assault he, accompanied only by his associate in arms, Macpherson, went out on the Plains of Abraham, and there, on the very spot where Wolfe had fallen, bitterly thought of the recent time when England and America stood there, in mutual, well-beseeming ranks, victors over the traditional common foe: now joined with England in purchased alliance against those Colonies, which France had failed to conquer, when those Colonies were the bulwark of England's empire on the Continent of America. A presentiment of death — not unus-

ual at such moments to susceptible minds[1] — elevated the sad spirit of his thought. The actual circumstances of Montgomery's situation admitted no delay; and the capture of Quebec must be attempted, despite the hazard, with a *coup de main.* His rapid conquests had filled the world with his praise, and gave assurance of greater success; the Colonies believed that nothing was improbable to his cool courage, ardent temper, circumspect conduct, and good fortune. After the fighting around the heights and on the battlements of the fortress had ceased, the body of Montgomery and that of his faithful Macpherson were found lying near each other, enwrapped in the winding sheet of the freshly fallen snow. The public authorities of Quebec and the generous enemy, even the officers in chief command of the garrison, paid the tributes of respect due to a worthy foe, and saw the bodies of Montgomery and Macpherson committed to the earth with the honors of a soldier's sepulchre.[2] The voice of friend and enemy, in exceptless admiration, ad-

[1] The memorable incident that Wolfe recited aloud as he floated in the batteau down the St. Lawrence, and made more significant, the following stanza of "Gray's Elegy," will recur to the reader:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 8, pp. 205–212.

mitted the purity of Montgomery's patriotic sacrifice; and the glow of pride, not the blush of shame, suffused the cheek of his young widow when the name of her Montgomery was spoken.[1] The effect of his death upon the imagination of his country exceeded that which emanated from the heroism of Wolfe; and many sought, and some found, the fame which all coveted.

In compliance with the recommendation of the Continental Congress four regiments had been raised by the Province of New York. Governor Tryon had returned to the city, and was attempting to regain control. The war-vessel *Asia*, in which he had come back to New York, lay in the harbor between Staten and Bedloe Islands. An occasion for hostilities in fact, in the city, soon occurred. Already in the course of the month of June, 1775, the city showed evidences of military preparations for defensive purposes. The rumor, during the time hurriedly spread among the inhabitants, that the troops, then ascertained to be on the way, were intended to reënforce the army at New York, acting with the recommendation which came from the Continental Congress, aroused a defiant tendency among the people and, to an observable degree, among those higher

[1] "You will never have cause to blush for your Montgomery," were the last words which he spoke to his wife when they took leave of each other at Saratoga: to which place she had accompanied him on his way towards Canada.

classes, who had stood aloof. General Wooster, who commanded some of the Connecticut troops stationed at Greenwich, near New York, marched, at the request of the Provincial Congress of New York and by direction of that of Connecticut, the main body of those troops towards the city, and encamped at Harlaem, then a village within five miles, so as to be in readiness to repel the expected invasion. Then followed the further recommendation by the Continental Congress that the Province raise additional regiments for the general defense.

The return of Governor Tryon, in the midst of these proceedings, and his nominal resumption of authority, presented, at once, the spectacle of two incongruous and jarring governments. His specious manner and want of candor made him ever suspected. A collision between the Congressional authority and that of the royal governor was not to be avoided. It soon arose from the following adventure. Upon the place known as the Battery, at the confluence of the Hudson and East rivers, and fronting the harbor where the *Asia* rode at anchor, were twenty-one iron eighteen pounders and some smaller cannon, mounted. These all belonged to the Province. The Provincial Congress directed that these should be removed and taken to another place. The ultimate object was to use them in the fortification of

posts in the highlands of the Hudson river. John Lamb,[1] who had been appointed to the command of a company of artillery, was ordered to direct this to be done. On the evening of the 23d of August, Lamb, assisted by an independent corps under Colonel Lasher and a body of townspeople led by Isaac Sears, went to the battery to take away the cannon. A number of the students of King's College were conspicuous among those who accompanied the command of Colonel Lasher. Commander Vandeput, of the *Asia*, who had learned of the purpose, sent a large boat with armed men from the vessel, to watch the Battery and defeat any such attempt. While some of those who came with Lasher and Sears were inside the fortification dismounting the cannon, a musket was fired from the barge of the *Asia*, which was secreted near the shore. Lamb and his company, who remained outside the fort, instantly fired upon the barge, and one or more of its crew were killed and several wounded. The barge was immediately rowed back, and, when it reached the *Asia*, that vessel opened fire, sending three shot in quick succession into the city. Lamb ordered the drums to beat to arms, and the church bells to be rung. In the midst of the tumult and terror a broadside of grape and round shot was sent from the *Asia*. Urged by fears that

[1] *Life of John Lamb*, pp. 108, 109.

the city would be destroyed and sacked through the frenzy of the belligerents, hundreds of men, women, and children hurriedly went beyond the limits of the town, taking with them such property as they were able to transport. But, in the face of all this turmoil and danger, and the probability of more serious accountability, the responsible leaders were calm and resolute; and, by the people and those to whom the project was specially committed, the order of the Provincial Congress was entirely fulfilled. The students were boldly active. Fifteen of them, including Hamilton, were engaged in the affair. From the cannon removed, they were permitted, it seems, to retain two of the smaller kind; which, with inverted muzzles, they erected in the ground, one on each side of the main entrance to the close of the college, in spite of President Cooper's remonstrance. Those two cannon, fronting Park Place, were familiar objects down to the time when the College was removed in 1857. A recriminatory correspondence followed between the captain of the *Asia* and the Provincial representatives. He would vindicate his conduct on the ground that it was his duty to protect the property of the King. The authorities answered that the armament at the Battery belonged to the Province and not to the King. The anger of the populace was so high, at what they deemed

an outrage, that they subsequently seized two boats which had ventured ashore from the *Asia*, and destroyed them. The Provincial Congress resumed its propitiatory policy: again with the usual bad results of servile and weak conduct in revolutionary crises. One of those boats the Congress had ordered to be rebuilt, but before it was finished it was secretly sawed in two by persons who could not be discovered. Yet with the mob the collegians had no sympathy. When a number of the excited populace went, at this time, to the President's residence in the college-close to seize him, Hamilton and Troup confronted them, and Hamilton, from the steps of the porch, spoke to them, and admonished them on "the impropriety of their conduct, and the disgrace they were bringing on the cause of liberty of which they professed to be the champions."[1] While the crowd were held by Hamilton's address, President Cooper escaped by the rear of the building to the river bank, and there went on board the *Asia*. And, also, it is told, that on another occasion, the "Travis mob" was turned from their purpose, about the same time, in a similar way, when they were threatening the life of a Mr. Thurman, a

[1] Troup related the incident to Pickering, and he is cited in Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. I, p. 100, as authority for the story. Troup says, that at first Dr. Cooper supposed that Hamilton was inciting the turbulent concourse, and, from an upper window, cried out, "Don't listen to him, gentlemen: he is crazy."

merchant, whose conduct as one of the Committee of Safety had displeased them.[1]

The Provincial Congress continued in session at New York till September, when it adjourned for a month. That body, like the Continental Congress, still hoped that the mission of Richard Penn would bring an accommodation to pass, and that peace would soon bless their persistent efforts. The Continental Congress, in like assurance of hope, had adjourned one month before [August 1] for five weeks; and the country was left at this moment without a representative of its general cause and unity but Washington and the army under his command. The Provincial Congress of New York, however, unlike the Continental Congress, did not so confidently and wholly abandon or suspend its guardian care over public interest. It appointed a Committee of Safety, made up of its own members, and committed to them the convenient and necessary management of affairs affecting the public good, during the time of the adjournment. This was, indeed, its customary course on temporary cessation of legislative action.

While this committee were in session in October, 1775, the Mayor of New York City came to their room and gave information that Governor Tryon had sent for him the previous day; that

[1] Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. 1, p. 100.

the Governor said a letter was received from Lord Dartmouth notifying him that orders were given to the commanders of the King's ships in America that, in case any more troops were raised, or fortifications put up, or the King's stores taken, the places in which these things were perpetrated must be considered in a state of rebellion. This communication produced alarm. The *Asia*, with its threatening ports open, lay opposite the town. It was ever an object of dread since the night when it sent a broadside in amidst friend and foe alike. A fear that the city would yet be fired by it was entertained by many. A single act of decision by those who assumed authority on behalf of the People dispelled such fears. The Provincial Congress, notwithstanding the affair of the evening of August 23, yet allowed the *Asia* to receive provisions from the city. This was thought inconsistent with dignity and prudence; the irritation of citizens was much increased by it, and strong language was openly spoken by reason of it against that body. In truth, the Committee of Safety was the trusted and controlling influence which moved and moderated public action. Washington, the army, and those who held responsible relations to all the Colonies, were indignant at the seemingly forsaken state in which the adjournment of Congress had placed them. Hence this indulgence granted and continued

to the *Asia* was regretted by him and them. But now the Continental Congress had reassembled and was in session at Philadelphia. Its patience was exhausted; its petitions to King and Parliament rejected. Richard Penn's mission had failed. The King would receive neither the petition nor its bearer. The King and the Ministry were "determined to listen to nothing from the illegal Congress; to treat with the Colonies only one by one, and in no event to recognize them in any form of association."[1] Penn was examined before the House of Commons. The King made his decision without hesitation, and the die was cast when the famous proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition was issued on August 23, 1775. The result of the Penn mission was not fully known in America till November.[2] On the evening of the same day when that proclamation had been issued it was that the *Asia* fired on

[1] Adolphus' *History of England*, vol. 2, pp. 256–259.

[2] When Mrs. Adams read this proclamation she wrote to John Adams, her husband, then at the Congress in Philadelphia, a letter containing the following characteristic sentence: "This intelligence will make a plain path for you, though a dangerous one; I could not join to-day in the petitions of our worthy pastor for a reconciliation between our no longer parent state but tyrant state, and these colonies. Let us separate; they are unworthy to be our brethren. Let us renounce them; and, instead of supplications, as formerly, for their prosperity and happiness, let us beseech the Almighty to blast their counsels, and bring to nought all their devices."

New York. Emissaries of the Ministry were industrious in their mischievous vocations. Tryon, with fair words and full of guile, was an object suspected, watched, and disliked by the leaders and the populace. The Continental Congress on October 6, had recommended the several Provincial Assemblies and Committees of Safety to secure every person inimical to the cause. Tryon was sensible that affairs were already beyond his management, and his liberty in danger. The Mayor and others promised him protection. But his own instinct was too true, and on October 19, he took refuge on board the British sloop of war *Halifax*, which lay in the harbor. From thence he vainly played a sort of civil authority over a Province once the King's, aided by a few erratic members of his council.[1]

The students of the King's College had kept up during the year their discussions concerning the public interests in issue. None in New York spoke, it is probable very few even thought before early in 1776, of separation from England. The debating club of the students was, undoubtedly, the arena of many earnest addresses during these days from Hamilton, Marinus Willetts, Nicholas Fish,[2] Robert Troup, John William Livingston,

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, p. 94.

[2] The Hon. Hamilton Fish speaks of these debates, in some reminiscences of his father, Hamilton, Troup, and others, published in the *New York Tribune* of January 25, 1879, p. 2.

and others. They did not confine themselves entirely to the art of wordy deliberation. Some of them were preparing themselves, under experienced teachers, in the acquisition of a knowledge of the art of war. Whether there was an organization for military exercises before the beginning of 1776, to which those collegians belonged, or whether such an organization was formed when the death of Montgomery became known, is not clear. Either inference might be made. It is, perhaps, more likely that they joined in such a body after that event had stirred their blood in common with that of the whole country. The fact that they wore in their caps that sentence to which the *coup de main* at Quebec had given an additional popular sentiment, indicates with some certainty the later time.

Hamilton during the year 1775 made an address, which began his remarkable relations with the mercantile classes. Those relations gave through his whole life a peculiar character to his labors as lawyer and statesman. He was, ever afterwards, the special exponent of commercial polity; the fabricator of commercial and industrial protection; the originator of a system of finance competent to the commercial and other needs and conveniences of the country; the unrivaled jurist whose opinions on constitutional law and the *lex mercatoria* had the force of au-

thority. Late in the autumn of the previous year[1] the Westchester Farmer issued "An Address to the Merchants of New York." The pamphlet was widely and gratuitously circulated. Its effect upon the minds of that class was injurious to the colonial cause. In the spring of 1775,[2] a meeting was called by the merchants at the Coffee House, to consider their own state and their duty towards the public weal. Hamilton went to the meeting. He was familiar with the arguments enunciated in the Farmer's Address, and with those current in the mercantile sphere. Others of wisdom and eloquence had spoken before his opportunity came. It was an assembly different in its composition from that which had met the year before "in the fields." Capital is sensitive and cautious; and the mercantile community had all they possessed involved in the prosperity of trade. It became them to be cautious how they should enter, if at all, the impending struggle. Hamilton knew and felt the delicacy of his task. His writings at this stage of affairs show it. He was a stranger to those he was about to address. But what he had to say was thoroughly prepared in manner and matter, as was his custom. When Hamilton, with his boyish, fair, delicate features, and slight diminutive

[1] November 28, 1774.

[2] See *Rivington's Gazette*, 1775.

figure, presented himself, without introduction, and stood on a chair so as to be raised above the auditors, a smile passed over their faces. He hesitated, and delayed to begin. "Poor boy," said one, "who brought him here. He will disgrace himself." Soon the words came slowly and deliberately. The attention of all present was fixed. The speeches of that day are not preserved. But the substance of that delivered by Hamilton was a clear, comprehensive, masterly exposition, which brought conviction to those who heard him.[1] His knowledge, acquired at the counting-room in St. Croix, taught him how such a class of men should be spoken to; and his profound acquaintance with the political principles called into the discussion enabled him to engage their sympathetic adherence to the Congressional party.

The second Provincial Congress of New York assembled, and began proceedings, on December 2, 1775. No other legislative body was to succeed it in the name of the Province. Events were soon to evolve a new and permanent form of representative government, which was to take the place of this Congress.

[1] Edward Lawrence, a well-known merchant, was present on the occasion. He frequently related the anecdote. It is to his nephew, Richard Lawrence Schieffelin, Esq., of New York City, that the writer is indebted for a description, which Mr. Schieffelin often heard his uncle repeat, more circumstantial and vivid than that brought down to us in the fading colors of popular tradition.

Washington saw during this month indications about Boston which made him infer that preparations were on hand in the British army there, to send off an important expedition. He conjectured that its true point was likely to be New York. In this view General Charles Lee, by direction of Washington, left the American camp, then before Boston, on January 11, 1776, on his way to New York, to take command and consolidate the troops organized and organizing in Connecticut, to call on the troops in New Jersey to join them, and to put that city in a defensible state so as to successfully resist Howe's expedition should it appear there and attempt to land. Lee had special orders to disarm the disaffected in the vicinity, and to look to the fortification of the North River.[1]

When the information reached New York that Lee was coming there — and by the authority and power of the Commander-in-chief and the army at Cambridge, and that Congress itself was beginning to exercise a superior authority which it deemed necessary to the "general" defense, — a panic started scarcely less intense than if the *Asia* had again opened fire. The Committee of Safety wrote to Lee so as to reach him before he came nearer the city. They said: —

"The inhabitants of this city are much alarmed at various

[1] Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. 3, pp. 273, 274.

confident advices of your destination, with a considerable body of forces for active service here. Confident, however, as those advices may appear to people without doors, we cannot readily credit them, as we conceive it most probable, that were you preparing to execute any plan of that kind, it would be preceded by some intimations to us on the subject from the Continental Congress, General Washington, or yourself. We therefore should not have troubled you with this application had it not been to procure such information from you as may enable us, in a prudent use of it, to allay the fears of our inhabitants, who, at this inclement season of the year, will continue, as they have already begun, to remove their women and children, and which, if continued, may occasion hundreds to perish for want of shelter." [1]

This was subscribed by Peter V. B. Livingston, Chairman of the Committee. Lee, without delay, from Stamford, Connecticut, on the 23d of January, answered:—

"With respect, Sir, to the alarms of the inhabitants, on the suspicion that my business was to commence active hostilities against the men-of-war in your harbor, I can assure you that they may be perfectly easy. . . . . The motive of the General for detaching me was, solely to prevent the enemy from taking post in your city, or lodging themselves in Long Island, which we have the greatest reason to think, Sir, is their design. Some subordinate purposes were likewise to be executed, which are much more proper to communicate by word of mouth, than by writing; but I give you my word that no active service is proposed, as you seem to apprehend. If the ships of war are quiet, I shall be quiet; but I declare solemnly, that if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town, the first house set in flames by their guns shall

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. I, p. 76.

be the funeral pile of some of their best friends. . . . . In compliance, Sir, with your request, I only shall carry with me into town a force just strong enough to secure it against any designs of the enemy, until it shall please the Continental Congress to take measures for its permanent security. The main body I shall leave on the western frontiers of Connecticut, according to your directions. I hope, Sir, and persuade myself that the Committee and inhabitants can have no objection to this plan. If Mr. Tryon, and the captains of the ships of war, are to prescribe what numbers are, and what numbers are not, to enter the town, they are absolute dictators to all intents and purposes. The condition is too humiliating to put up with." [1]

And, at the same place and time, Lee wrote to Washington: —

"I find the people through this Province [Connecticut] more alert, and more zealous, than my most sanguine expectations. I believe I might have collected ten thousand volunteers. I take only four regiments with me. . . . . Enclosed I send you my letter to the General Congress, and that of the Provincial Congress of New York to me, with my answer. . . . . The Whigs, I mean the stout ones, are, it is said, very desirous that a body of troops should march and be stationed in their city; the timid ones are averse, merely from the spirit of procrastination, which is the characteristic of timidity. The letter of the Provincial Congress, you will observe, breathes the very essence of this spirit. It is woefully hysterical." [2]

The delegates from New York, then in attendance at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, when made aware of Lee's mission, and that he

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, pp. 77, 78.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

was actually on his way to undertake its fulfillment, sent a committee, selected from their own number, to New York, to pacify the people and arrange a plan for united action. The committee arrived there on January 30, five days before Lee himself. Although the day after their arrival an advance from Lee's army appeared and took up its position in the town, the committee were able to improve the time to much advantage. Lee, when he came, found that affairs had been already accommodated to his convenience; for it was agreed that, by the credentials of the Continental Congress, all the troops in New York could be properly placed under this committee till Lee personally took the immediate command. Thus by the confidence reposed in the committee, and their own prudence, dangerous perplexities were reconciled. Lee, reporting the improved aspect of affairs relating to his position, wrote to Washington: —

"I consider it as a piece of the greatest good fortune that Congress have detached a committee to this place, otherwise I should have made a most ridiculous figure, besides bringing on myself the enmity of the whole Province. My hands were effectually tied up, from taking any steps necessary for the public service, by the late resolve of the Congress putting every detachment of the Continental troops under the command of the Provincial Congress where such detachment is." [1]

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. I. p. 80.

The appearance of the British General Clinton, almost at the same moment with Lee, gave more reason to believe that the expedition fitting out at Boston was intended for New York. He brought no troops with him; he pledged his honor that none were to come; and, with professions, none the less designed to deceive because circumstantially true, freely told citizens that his own direction was North Carolina, where he expected to meet five regiments directly from England, and was bringing two regiments from Boston for a campaign against the colonists of that Province, who had already declared their independence of and separation from England.[1] Lee was not misled — a campaign in the South was not incompatible with a descent of the expedition upon New York, and so he did not delay in executing plans for military defensive operations. Lee was now in united and concordant council with the Committee of Safety. He expressed satisfaction at the spirit manifested by the Committee and the people when he wrote to Washington, that —

"The result will surprise you. It is, in the first place, agreed, and justly, that to fortify the town against shipping is impracticable; but we are to fortify lodgments, in some commanding part of the city, for two thousand men. We are

[1] At Mecklenberg, North Carolina, May 31, 1775. See a most circumstantial account of this earliest declaration of independence in Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, vol. 2, pp. 112–116.

to erect enclosed batteries on both sides of the water near Hell Gate, which will answer the double purpose of securing the town against piracies through the Sound and secure our communication with Long Island, now become a more capital point than ever, as it is determined to form a strong fortified camp of three thousand men in that Island, immediately opposite to New York. The pass in the Highlands is to be made as respectable as possible and guarded by a battalion."

The people and their immediate tribunes were no longer timid nor procrastinating, and "began to despise menaces. . . . . To do them justice," writes Lee, "the whole show a wonderful alacrity; and in removing the cannon, men and boys of all ages worked with the greatest zeal and pleasure. I really believe that the generality are as well affected as any on the Continent."

But the Congress at Philadelphia was wholly absorbed in more general matters; or a quiescence, spreading from a renewed hope that acceptable proposals for conciliation would be brought by Lord Howe from England, delayed its action. The committee had returned to Philadelphia. Before they left they had agreed with Lee that a force of five thousand men were necessary for the sure protection of New York. Since their departure, nothing came of it. The Continental Congress was not taking the least step for the security of that city. The Province was forsaken to its own strength and ability. In truth the whole contest at this time was entirely in the

hands of Washington, the army, and the Provincial congresses, or, in New York, rather the Committee of Safety. Lee was discouraged by this apathetic want of energy, or apparent decline of zeal, in the public bodies. Washington, while he and his army were at this moment closely watching the movements of the enemy in Boston, felt that he was likewise abandoned to his own resources.

The Provincial Congress had, however, ordered into New York city fifteen hundred men. A number equal to two battalions were arriving from Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. Lord Stirling's regiment was already within the precincts of the city. The cannon which remained on the discarded batteries and on the wharves were, at mid-day, taken away to safer places; and the guns of the *Asia* were silent, though Tryon and the captains of the war-vessels had threatened.

In the midst of these preparations Lee, somewhat annoyed by a proceeding of the Provincial Congress, and, perhaps, at last dispirited by the trammels to which the genuine public spirit in New York was subjected, announced, on March 6, he would resign the command that very night, and that Lord Stirling was ordered to relieve him.[1] Stirling took the command. Lee, at first intended for the resumed campaign against Canada, was

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. I, p. 88.

sent to the Carolinas to watch the movements of Clinton. While Lee was turning over his authority an event of great moment was preparing at Boston, which changed the theatre of warfare to New York.

The evacuation of Boston, though considered for some time, was hastily determined. Washington had gained and strengthened positions on heights which commanded the town. The remembrances of Bunker Hill chilled the ardor for any other attempt to dislodge by assault the Americans; and Sir William Howe, who had convened a second council of war on the crisis, ordered an instant retirement of the English forces. The retreat from the besieged town was quick if not precipitate. The army, numbering about eight thousand, and with them more than eleven hundred refugees, began embarkation at four o'clock in the morning, and in less than six hours all were on one hundred and twenty transports. Howe himself was among the last to leave the town. Before ten o'clock the vessels were under way, and from hills and house-tops, and every wharf, the citizens of Boston witnessed the fleet sail in a lengthened line from out the harbor. Washington beheld the scene from Dorchester Heights. On March 17, the place was clear of the enemy; and several regiments, under the command of General Putnam, immediately entered

Boston and took possession of all the posts. The day afterwards, Washington himself went into the town, and was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm and gratitude by the inhabitants. A salutary success was won with little loss; the "particular Province" resumed its right of self-government, and peace again visited the fields and hearths of the earliest scenes of the strife.

The Commander-in-chief, though the fleet was reported to have sailed for Halifax, ordered General Heath with five of the best regiments, the battalion of riflemen, and two companies of artillery, to New York. Anxious for the safety of that city, and its retention in the colonial interest as a point of military advantage, Washington called upon Connecticut for two thousand militia, and upon New Jersey for one thousand, to be sent to aid in opposing the landing of the enemy until the Continental troops sent by him could arrive. It was soon known that Howe had, for a season, and for the purpose of more adequate preparation, really gone with his expedition to Halifax, and the apprehension of impending danger passed. Washington entered the City of New York on the 13th of April, and assumed the chief command.

The illusion about invading Canada revived in the counsels of the Continental Congress, and, now that it was certain Howe's expedition was towards

another point or indefinitely delayed, the Continental regiments at first sent to New York, were then ordered to strengthen the campaign against Canada. Washington, who had been on a visit for consultation to the Congress at Philadelphia, saw that the main dependence was to be again upon the militia in case of another emergency; and, persuaded that Howe's ultimate point for attack was New York, he lost no time in making preparations to repel an invasion.[1] Intelligence came that the expedition, augmented at Halifax, might soon be expected to approach. Sir William Howe arrived on June 25, 1776, off Sandy Hook, near the entrance to the lower bay of New York, —three days afterwards he was joined by the British fleet and forces direct from Halifax. An immediate attack was thought probable; but Howe, having established his headquarters at Staten Island, remained inactive for two months, though a fleet from England, under the command of Lord Howe, united with him about the middle of July. Howe was awaiting further reënforcements before he would venture upon the new campaign. New York was now the central point. She became the care of the moment, and Washington was once more the anxious hope of America. He was using the time, afforded by Howe's

[1] Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. I, pp. 176, 177.

delay at Staten Island, to strengthen the works at New York. A fort was begun at the north part of Manhattan Island, upon a hill near the east bank of the Hudson river, which was named Fort Washington; and on the west bank of the river, nearly opposite, in New Jersey, another, now known as Fort Lee. Between these fortifications the river's channel was obstructed. Batteries were erected on the margins of the Hudson and East rivers, redoubts were thrown up at several other places, the ground near Kingsbridge, on the Harlem river, fortified, and the whole of Manhattan Island put in a state for defense. The Provincial Congress of New York invested Washington with a sort of dictatorial authority over the military power of the Colony, and to order the troops to be marched as he should think proper "for defense," anywhere within the territorial limits of the Province; and, also, delegated to him power to restrain of their liberty any disaffected persons whom he thought dangerous to the security of the public weal. Having entrusted this extraordinary authority and power to Washington, the Provincial Congress had little to do within the actual circumstances of affairs, but to second his views and aid in executing his orders, during the warfare in the Province of New York. That body then, on June 30, retired from the city of New York, and, three days afterwards, at-

tempted to assemble at the White Plains; but a number requisite to do business not appearing, the Congress did not convene until July 8, the day appointed for the opening of the new session. While Congress was, for those few days, in abeyance, information came from Philadelphia that the independence of the Thirteen Colonies would certainly be declared.

Independence had grown into the general theme of conversation, and more and more into a general wish.[1]

The measures of Congress had, indeed, for some time taken their complexion from the temper of the people. The projects against the disaffected were more vigorous and searching; its language towards the British government, in all its branches, less the language of subjects, and better calculated to turn the attention of the people to Congress and the Provincial assemblies, as the active and ultimate ruling authority of the country; general letters of marque and reprisal were granted, and a naval armament was begun.[2]

[1] As to the existence of a sincerely conciliatory spirit on the part of the colonists towards England, consult Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. 2, *appendix*, 496; and Rives' *Life and Times of James Madison*, vol. 1, pp. 108–114.

[2] John Adams was four years in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, and he had most to do on the naval committee. That committee purchased and fitted out [November 25, 1775] five vessels. "The first they named Alfred, in honor of the founder of the greatest navy that ever existed. The second, Columbus, after the discov-

And the ports were opened to all nations and people not owing allegiance to the British Crown. But a measure had been adopted, profound and irrevocable in its nature, which was truly considered by the Continental Congress and by all America as deciding for the Colonies the question of their political liberty, if not separation from the Crown. Thitherto, it was recommended by the Congress to only particular colonies to set up temporary institutions for the conduct of their governance and public proceedings during the existence of the controversy; but, on May 10, a resolution was offered, advising, generally, to those colonies which had not already established them, the adoption of regular governments adequate to the permanent wants and good of the people. Upon this advice such governments were organized and settled. A declaration of independence was the necessary inference. It was the fact: whatever theory may have continued to be indulged by those who spoke a different political sentiment.

At the moment of its assembling at the White Plains, on July 9, 1776, the Provincial Congress received a letter, addressed to it from John Hancock, the president of the Continental Congress.

erer of this quarter of the globe. The third, Cabot, for the discoverer of this northern part of the continent. The fourth, Andrew Doria, in memory of the great Genoese Admiral; and the fifth, Providence, for the town where she was purchased."

It was read, and communicated to them the expected information, that "the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve all connection between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free and independent States." A copy of the Declaration of Independence was sent with the letter, and a request made that the Provincial Congress have it proclaimed throughout the colony. The declaration was unanimously approved,[1] and ordered to be published by beat of drum, and other modes of publicity: and was taken as the ground and foundation of a new form of government, though the substance, the genius, traditions, principles, and the jurisprudence of the Constitution of England, the heritage of their fathers, was to be loyally retained.[2] Therefore, this Congress resolved at once on the same day, July 9, 1776, that its own title be changed from "The Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York," which it had borne, to that of "The Convention

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. 1, p. 111.

[2] "That revolution did not subvert government in all its forms. It did not subvert local laws and municipal administrations. It only threw off the dominion of a power claiming to be superior, and to have a right, in many important respects, to exercise legislative authority. Thinking this authority to have been usurped or abused, the American Colonies, now the United States, bade it defiance, and freed themselves from it by means of a revolution. But that revolution left them with their own municipal laws still, and the forms of local government." — *Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. 3, p. 460.

of the Representatives of the State of New York."[1] And thus ended the labors of the last public body which, in New York, acknowledged an allegiance to the British Crown.

At six o'clock of the evening of the day when Washington received the Declaration of Independence, the regiments of the American Army were assembled, and the proclamation read aloud in their hearing. It was welcomed with the most hearty demonstrations of long-suppressed feelings relieved, and of fervid joy. "The General hopes" says the army orders of the day, "that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier, to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country."

The campaign that followed presents two distinct phases, or aspects; one succeeding the other. Its first phase, beginning in the State of New York, was one of little else than disaster to the colonial cause: the American Army retiring from Long Island, over Manhattan Island, and through the Jerseys to the western banks of the Delaware, before the attacks and pursuit of the

[1] Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. i, p. 112.

British Army; and then, in its brighter phase, when Washington, inspired by the dangers of his position, with a sudden and admirable change of fortune and policy, crossed and recrossed the ice-encumbered waters of the Delaware, and, by a series of brilliant and rapid strides, the strategic movements at Trenton, and the battle at Princeton, restored the fainting hopes of the country.

The middle of August was passed before the British reënforcements had all arrived and reported to Sir William Howe. Intelligence was soon after brought to New York that the forces under Howe were landing on Long Island, at a spot between the Narrows and Sandy Hook. It was then more apparent, and as the preparations directed by Washington had forewarned, that Howe's plan was to reach the city of New York by way of Long Island. General Nathanael Greene was in command of the American forces on that island, but, during the time when the battle was fought, he was lying seriously ill of a fever, at the residence of John Inglis, in the Sailors' Snug Harbor, on the northwest corner of what is, at the present day, known as Broadway and Ninth Street; then a quiet suburban retreat.[1] General Putnam took the command four days only before the action begun.

It was in this memorable campaign, of alternate

[1] *Life of Nathanael Greene*, by his son, vol. 1, p. 206.

defeat and success, ending when the American Army went into winter-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, that Alexander Hamilton became familiar with the practical affairs of actual war. In it his intellectual abilities, practical skill, and untiring energy were brought to the appreciative notice of Washington; and there began that remarkable friendship which ended only with life. We shall trace, in our next and concluding chapter, the career of Hamilton from the inception of his military course to the time when he became the aid-de-camp and confidential adviser of Washington.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUDING THE VOLUME.

[1776–1777.]

ÆTAT. 19–20.

CHAPTER IX.

[1776–1777.]

THE brilliantly successful exploits of Montgomery captivated many of the students of King's College. It seemed as if a passion for military glory had inflamed the young blood of the whole country. The strains of military songs protracted political and convivial private meetings far into the evening, and taverns and clubs resounded with the popular chants of the "Hearts of Oak" and "The Drum."[1] It was the sudden and heroic death, however, of Montgomery which produced a deeper impression and a more sober and abiding resolution. Besides Ticonderoga was now likely to be retaken by Carleton, and thereby the road opened for the Englishry into the centre of the Province of New York. The repulsed expedition must, therefore, it was demanded, be strengthened and revived. Canada must be maintained as the

[1] "The Drum" was a favorite song with Hamilton, and the only one which he sang. He sang it at the dinner of the Cincinnati Society, on July 4, 1804, eight days before the fatal duel with Burr. The latter was present, and sat near Hamilton: but the proposed duel, already set for the 12th, was not suspected.

battle-ground, and the iron hoof of war kept at a distance from the fair fields of the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk.[1] When the news was brought to New York City of Montgomery's death and of the disastrous event at Quebec, a number of gentlemen, reputed for their prudent and sincere patriotism, arranged a plan for raising a battalion of fifteen hundred men for nine months service. The project was presented to the Provincial Congress, and Gouverneur Morris named by the projectors for one of the lieutenant-colonels. It was not acceptable.

A volunteer corps was begun, nevertheless, in a sort of informal way; and for the declared purpose of giving practical instruction in military tactics to those who desired it. The corps was placed under the training of Major Fleming, a gentleman who had been an adjutant in the British army. This was very early in 1776, and before the organization of a regular force. Hamilton, Robert Troup, Nicholas Fish,[2] and other

[1] The Colony of New York was ordered to raise four regiments, of which the city was to furnish one. Of that M'Dougall was appointed colonel, and Willetts, on June 28, 1775, a captain. — Willetts' *Narrative, etc.*, p. 33, in the New York Historical Society's Library.

[2] These being the two most familiar associates of Hamilton, and his life-long personal and political friends, brief biographical notices are likely to be acceptable to the reader.

Col. Robert Troup, LL. D., was born in New York City, in 1757. He was admitted a student in King's College in 1770, at which time

of the collegians joined this body. Hamilton, with his natural eagerness, studied books on the science of war, narratives of campaigns, and the

Edward Stevens, Hamilton's earliest friend, was also admitted. He and Stevens graduated on March 29, 1774, at the time when Governor Tryon was created LL. D. Troup studied law in the chambers of John Jay: joined the army as a lieutenant, early in 1776, and was, soon after, appointed aid-de-camp to General Woodhull; on August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner at the battle on Long Island, and, after long confinement in the Jersey prison-ship and then in the provost-prison in New York, was exchanged in the spring of 1777, and was that year with the army in New Jersey. He was aid-de-camp to General Gates, and present at the battle of Stillwater, and at the surrender of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777. February, 1778, he was appointed by Congress Secretary to the Board of War, of which Gates was president; and when that board was dissolved, in 1779, he went to New Jersey and completed his law studies with William Patterson. When peace was declared Troup was made United States Judge for the District of New York. He resided many years at Geneva, N. Y., as the principal agent of the great Pulteney estate. He died at New York City, on January 14, 1832. At the time of Hamilton's death their law chambers were near each other on Broadway; Hamilton's at No. 26, and his at No. 44. See *ante*, pp. 176–178.

Colonel Nicholas Fish was born in New York, August 28, 1758. When sixteen years old he was entered at the New Jersey College, but soon left and began the study of law in the chambers of John Morine Scott. June 21, 1775, he was appointed brigade-major to General Scott (*Proceedings of Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 502); then, November 21, major of the second New York regiment, and, at the end of the war, he was a lieutenant-colonel. He was in the battles of Saratoga; a division-inspector, in 1778, under Baron Steuben; commanded a corps of light infantry at the battle of Monmouth; served in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians in 1779; was in 1780 attached to the infantry commanded by Lafayette; and was very active in the operations of 1781, which ended with the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and the British army at

history of the rise and fall of nations, and he daily exercised in the ranks during the winter. He was noted as an expert in the manual of arms. The name which this body took was that of "The Hearts of Oak."[1] It met every morning for drill in the churchyard of St. George's Chapel, on Beekman Street. With their caps of leather, bearing on the frontlet the device "Victory or Death,"— words at that moment significant and inspiring,[2] — and with their green colored uniforms,[3] the young

Yorktown. At the last place Fish was major of the detachment which, under the command of Hamilton, stormed the British redoubt. He was adjutant-general of the State of New York in 1786; was supervisor of the revenue under Washington's administration in 1794; an alderman of his native city from 1806 to 1817; and President of the New York Cincinnati Society in 1797. He was honored by the confidence of Washington; and was one of the executors nominated by Hamilton of his last will. He died in New York, on June 20, 1833.

[1] So called, after the song of which David Garrick is the reputed author.—*Songs and Ballads of the Revolution*, p. 47.

[2] Each soldier that was with Montgomery in the fatal assault on Quebec wore in his cap, that they might recognize each other, a piece of white paper, on which some of them wrote, "Liberty or Death." — Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 8, p. 205.

[3] This was the color of dress used by the Colonial regiment in the French war of 1758–1763. Colonel Marinus Willetts, who had been a lieutenant in one of its companies, gives this description: "It consisted of a green coat, trimmed with silver twist, white under clothes and black gaiters; also a cocked hat, with a large black cockade of silk ribbon, together with a silver button and loop." — *A Narrative, etc.*, by Colonel Marinus Willetts, p. 11. New York, 1831.

The artillery company, which General Schuyler, in 1775, originated, were clad in a uniform of "blue, faced with buff;" and is assumed to be the first officially authorized uniform in this country of what are known as the American colors. See Appendix C.

patriots were attractive and efficacious examplars to the people.

King's College was more and more the subject of turbulent interruption in the due performance of its functions, from an acrimonious popular dislike. The avowed and persistent animosity of its President against the colonial cause, naturally incurred such resentment. The previous year [1775] there was, on account of the absence of Doctor Cooper, no public Commencement. Indeed, the last Commencement which King's College was ever to hold had been held. It had assembled in Trinity Church, on March 29, 1774; on which occasion — as the adversaries of the college reminded each other with inimical purpose — Governor William Tryon was created LL. D. There was no admission for students in 1776. The college was to come to an end; for, "on the sixth of April, a message was sent to the treasurer of the college (signed by Robert Benson) from a number of men who styled themselves the Committee of Safety, desiring the Governor to prepare the College in six days for the reception of troops. In consequence of this demand the students were dispersed, the library, apparatus, etc., were deposited in the City Hall, and the College was turned into an hospital." [1]

[1] See *The Matricula, or Register of Admissions and Graduations, etc., in King's College at New York:*" a MSS. book pre-

Washington left Boston on the 6th of April, and was in Connecticut, on his way to New York to assume the immediate command. He arrived on the 13th at his headquarters, in that city. The Committee of Public Safety appointed a special committee to act in coöperation with him on behalf of the Colony.[1]

There is a story, related by some who have written concerning Hamilton's early life, that at this dispersion of the collegians he inclined to return to St. Croix,[2] but was persuaded by friends to remain and aid the cause of constitutional resistance to illegal oppression. The supposition is inconsistent with the incidents which we have related, and with the unconcealed ambi-

served in the President's room at Columbia College. The book contains the contemporaneous record of Alexander Hamilton, March, 1774; the last entry but one of a class of seventeen members. Owing to the suspension of its functions Hamilton did not receive a degree until 1788, when Columbia College conferred on him the degree of A. M. The college was revived under the title of Columbia at the close of the Revolutionary War, and first conferred degrees in 1786.

The Committee of Public Safety, which was appointed by, and acted for, the Provincial Congress in this recess, wished to avoid quartering any Continental troops on the citizens, and made the order, on April 4, 1776, to have the college buildings prepared for those troops, when they were informed that Washington was on his way to take the immediate command. See *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 400.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[2] *Recollections, etc., of Washington*, by his adopted son, G. W P. Custis, p. 342.

tious nature of Hamilton. At that instant — and it is decisive on the point — he was already in the military regular service of the Province.

Lord Stirling, then in command at New York, had, it appears, heard of the proficient mental talents of Hamilton, and of his application to military studies and drill. He requested Elias Boudinot, the early friend of Hamilton, to secure the young collegian's services for his staff. The request came too late. But it is noteworthy: for it shows his good repute and how early he was sought by those who stood among the highest. Stirling received the answer to his request in the following letter, dated Newark, March 10, 1776, from Mr. Boudinot: —

"My Lord: On my brother's return from New York, he informed me that Mr. Hamilton had already accepted the command of artillery, and was therefore deprived of the pleasure of attending your Lordship's person as brigade major."[1]

It was at the beginning of that month Hamilton applied for the command of the company of artillery which the Province had ordered to be raised for the Colony. He presented himself to the Board of Examiners, over which presided Alexander M'Dougall, now colonel, who was the chairman of the "meeting in the fields."[2] A few

[1] *Life of William Alexander, Lord of Stirling*, p. 136, published by the New Jersey Historical Society. 1847.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 216–218.

days afterwards [March 14] Hamilton received his commission as "Captain of the Provincial company of artillery." There was another company of artillery organized by the Province, but that was assigned to and acted with the Continental service. It was that one which was commanded by John Lamb; and formed a part of the first regiment set afoot in the city of New York for the general defense, and which had gone with Montgomery's expedition to Canada. M'Dougall had the command of the Colonial regiment, for home service; and Hamilton's friend Willetts was appointed captain of its second company of infantry.[1] "Without delay Hamilton recruited his men, and, with the remnant of the second and last remittance from his relatives in Santa Cruz, having equipped" the company, it was finally attached to the brigade which was under General John Morine Scott,[2] and of which his friend Nicholas Fish was brigade-major.

Soon after Hamilton had begun to form his corp of artillerists their services were required by the Provincial Congress: and on April 2, the guard belonging to the first regiment of the city was relieved from watching for the safety of the public records, and Captain Hamilton was "di-

[1] *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, for 1869, pp. 792, 793.

[2] *Proceedings of the Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 497, June 17, 1776. Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. 1, p. 20.

rected to place and keep a proper guard of his company at the records until further order."[1] This was his first military act. The records were at the time lodged, for safer keeping than the public offices seemed to afford, in the house of Nicholas Bayard, the deputy. Hamilton's company was relieved, in turn, from this duty, on April 11,[2] and on the 14th of June the public records were removed from Bayard's house, and by boat taken to Kingston on the Hudson,[3] because the Congress might yet have to retire there, and it was a place beyond the reach of danger. Within a month from this time Washington ordered [May 11] all the troops to encamp; and Hamilton, with his company, were employed in the routine of such life in active service, — guarding "the Provincial powder;"[4] searching, by special license[5] from Congress, for deserters from his own corps on board a Continental vessel; or petitioning Congress to deal justly by the men of his command, and to reward by promotion some of them who deserved it. Two instances will be sufficient to show the care which his corps received from his diligent providence: —

On May 26, 1776, the Provincial Congress re-

[1] *Proceedings of the Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 396.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 403. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 494.
[4] *Proceedings of the Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 488. June 1.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31. May 31.

ceived a letter from Captain Hamilton, dated that day. It was read, filed, and its requests granted at once.[1] He had written:—

"I take the liberty to request your attention to a few particulars which will be of considerable importance to the future progress of the company under my command; and I shall be much obliged to you for as speedy a determination concerning them as you can conveniently give. The most material is respecting the pay. Our company, by their articles, are to be subject to the same regulations, and to receive the same pay, as the Continental artillery. Hitherto I have conformed to the standard laid down in the Journal of the Congress, published 10th May, 1775; but I am well informed that, by some later regulation, the pay of the artillery has been augmented. . . . . You will discover a considerable difference; and I doubt not you will be easily sensible that such a difference should not exist. I am not personally interested in having an augmentation . . . . because my own pay will remain the same as it now is: but I make this application on behalf of the company; as I am fully convinced such a disadvantageous distinction will have a very pernicious effect on the minds and behavior of the men. They do the same duty with the other companies, and think themselves entitled to the same pay. . . . . As to the circumstance of our being confined to the defense of the Colony, it will have little or no weight; for there are but few in the company who would not as willingly leave the Colony on any necessary expedition, as stay in it. . . . . Also, I should be glad to be informed if my company is to be allowed the frock which is given to the other troops as a bounty? This frock would be extremely serviceable in summer, while the men are on fatigue; and

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 1, pp. 7, 8.

would put it in their power to save their uniform much longer."[1]

Again, on July 26, he addressed Congress:—

"I am obliged to trouble you to remove a difficulty which arises respecting the quantity of subsistence which is to be allowed my men. Inclosed you have the rates of rations, which is the standard of the whole Continental, and even the Provincial army; but it seems Mr. Curtensius cannot afford to supply us with more than his contract stipulates; which, by comparison, you will perceive is considerably less than the forementioned rate. My men, you are sensible, are, by their articles, entitled to the same subsistence with the Continental troops; and it would be to them an insupportable discrimination, as well as a breach of the terms of their enlistment, to give them almost a third less provisions than the whole army besides receives. I doubt not you will readily put this matter upon a proper footing. Hitherto we have drawn our full allowance from Mr. Curtensius; but he did it upon the supposition that he would have a farther consideration for the extraordinary supply. At present, however, he scruples to proceed in the same way, till he can be put upon a more certain foundation."[2]

By a resolution of the Congress on the 17th of June preceding, his company of artillery was considered a part of the quota of militia to be raised by the city; and, on receipt of this letter, it was ordered that, "as Captain Hamilton's company was formerly a part of General Scott's brigade, that they henceforth be supplied with provisions as a part of the brigade,"[3] and Mr. Curten-

[1] *Journal of Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 462.

[2] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 1, p. 9.

[3] *Journal of Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 462.

sius was relieved from further service in this particular.

But more general and important consequences followed his letter of August 12, for Congress directed Colonel Livingston to call on Hamilton personally and confer respecting the suggestions made by him.[1]

This letter stated: —

"It is necessary I should inform you that there is at present a vacancy in my company, arising from the promotion of Lieutenant Johnson to a Captaincy in one of the new Gallies (which command, however, he has since resigned for a very particular reason). As artillery officers are scarce in proportion to the call for them, and as myself and my remaining officers sustain an extraordinary weight of duty on account of the present vacancy, I shall esteem it a favor, if you will be pleased, as soon as possible, to make up my deficiency by a new appointment. It would be productive of much inconvenience should not the inferior officers succeed in course, and from this consideration I doubt not you will think it proper to advance Mr. Gilleland and Mr. Bean, and fill up the third lieutenancy with some other person. I beg the liberty *warmly* to recommend to your attention Thomas Thompson — now first Sergeant in my company — a man highly deserving of notice and preferment. He has discharged his duty in his present station with uncommon fidelity, assiduity, and expertness. He is a very good disciplinarian — possesses the advantage of having seen a good deal of service in Germany, has a tolerable share of common sense, and will not disgrace the rank of an officer and gentleman. In a word, I verily believe he will make an excellent lieutenant, and his advance

[1] *Journal of Provincial Congress*, vol. 1, p. 574.

ment will be a great encouragement and benefit to my company in particular, and will be an animating example to all men of merit to whose knowledge it comes." [1]

Colonel Livingston, when he had conferred with Hamilton, reported to the Congress. That body instantly appointed Thompson to the lieutenancy, and adopted the novel policy, which was commended by Hamilton, of advancing competent and exemplary men from the ranks. France, and, in our own times, other European governments have adopted a like system with great benefit. And it was ordered that this special action of Congress be published in the newspapers of the State, and made known in a conspicuous manner throughout the army, to the end that the promise of like promotion should be widely spread and its efficacy general.[2]

Three days before Hamilton wrote this letter, which produced these important results, his company of artillery was permanently incorporated by order of the Congress into General Scott's brigade, and considered as a part of the State troops in the Continental service.[3]

On the 15th of August, a single incident occurred which manifests that Hamilton had used the time since he organized his artillery company,

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. I, p. 10.
[2] *Journal of Provincial Congress*, vol. I, p. 574.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 564. August 9, 1776.

so as to impart credit to himself and his men. But we have few special anecdotes and actual circumstances. Many, likely, rest in obscurity. Yet by the fruitful work we are assured of his dili gence. He was living again that deeply earnest life which emits no ebullitions to the surface, and suppresses mere display. As in his seminary and college courses, so here: we infer the labor by the product. The habit of thoroughness evidently continued to leave its stamp on all things in which he engaged. One thing at a time, and that absorbingly. His command was the model of precise and intelligent discipline. "About this time" [August 15] General Nathanael Greene, — as the grandson of this great general, pronounced by history second to Washington only, relates to us the anecdote, — "laid the foundation of a friendship which was to grow stronger year by year, and end only with life. Duty as well as inclination often called him to headquarters; and his way from the ferry led him through the Park, then open ground, and frequently used for drills and parades. One day, on passing through it, whether in coming or in going the tradition does not tell, his attention was attracted by the soldierly appearance of a company of young artillerists, and particularly by the air and bearing of their commander, who, though but a boy in size, went through his duty with the precision of a veteran. When the

parade was over, Greene sent to compliment the young officer on his proficiency, and invite him to dinner. The invitation was accepted; and thus began that intercourse with Alexander Hamilton which, founded on a just appreciation of each other's talents, perfect confidence in each other's motives, equal devotion to the cause in which they were engaged, and a singular harmony of opinions upon all the great questions involved in it, was a source of strength and happiness."[1]

The American forces assigned to duty on Long Island were unable to resist the advance of the British army. Those engaged were under the immediate command of General Israel Putnam, with General Sullivan and Lord Stirling, and did not exceed five thousand men; though the aggregate number of American troops on the island at the time numbered some nine thousand. Opposed to those five thousand were fifteen thousand of the enemy, well provided with artillery, under the command of General Clinton, with Lords Percy and Cornwallis. About three o'clock in the morning of the 27th of August, the British were moving along the road which led from the shore of the Narrows. Stirling advanced to meet them, and Sullivan went out to the heights on the middle road, to oppose any movement in that

[1] *Life of Gen. Nathanael Greene*, by his son, vol. I, p. 193.

direction: at the close of the battle, the enemy were encamped close in front of the American lines of defense. It was the British commander's plan to carry those defenses by regular approaches, whenever the fleet came from the Narrows to coöperate with him. The Americans had contested every foot of ground while they were retiring within their lines. Hamilton and his artillery company were with those who brought up the rear, and, it was reported, lost his baggage and a field-piece.[1] The issue of the day was very disastrous. Between eleven and twelve hundred men were lost; more than a thousand of whom were captured, and Sullivan and Stirling were among the prisoners. A heavy rain, however, kept the main body of the enemy in their tents during the next day, and a strong head-wind detained the fleet from sailing to Howe's aid. Washington lost little time in deliberation. A council of war was called; it was determined to withdraw the troops, and on the morning of the 30th of August, while a dense fog lay upon the place and vicinity, the whole of those American forces, the military stores, nearly all the provisions, and the artillery, with a few exceptions, were safely transported into New York. The last boat of the retreat was crossing the East River before the elusion was discovered by the British. The secrecy, silence,

[1] Mulligan's *Recollections.*

and order by which this retreat was managed make it one of the remarkable military events in history.[1]

Upon this appearance of a victory Lord Howe proceeded to execute the special mission upon which he had been sent to America. The project was presented to the committee which Congress had, by invitation, delegated to meet and confer with Lord Howe at Staten Island. Congress remained firm, and adhered to its original demands as the conditions of settlement. The scheme of the Ministry failed.[2]

For the time the effect of the disaster upon the spirits of the troops and people was most depressing. Yet it was only the beginning of a series of temporary losses and visitations to the Continental cause; but by which adversities, nevertheless, a concourse of raw recruits were being disciplined into an efficient army, which was, unexpectedly, to turn upon its pursuers, outmatch them in strategic skill, and attain the most valuable results of this very campaign.

[1] A full description of the battle on Long Island, — indeed of any of the actual conflicts of this campaign, — does not belong to the consideration of the subject of this book. They who would know more of those military operations will find all that is necessary to an accurate general understanding in Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. I, pp. 189–196; and in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. I, pp. 86–95.

[2] *Life of John Adams*, by his son, vol. I, pp. 333–338.

On the 15th of September, Washington, looking upon the city of New York as an untenable position for his army, and while preparations were making to evacuate it, was with the main body of the forces entrenched on the heights of Harlem. Putnam remained in New York with a division. In the morning of that day three men-of-war, belonging to the British fleet, ascended the Hudson River as high as Bloomingdale. It was a feint to divert the attention of the Americans; for, at a little later time of the morning, under fire from two forty-gun ships and three frigates, there landed at Kip's Bay, on the East River side of Manhattan Island, a division of the British army, comprising British and the Hessian troops. The regiments, posted at that place to protect the lines, were precipitately retreating when Washington rode hastily toward where the enemy were appearing, putting his own person in danger, and thereby "hoped to encourage the men by his example, or rouse them to a sense of shame for their cowardice. But all his exertions were fruitless. The troops, being eight regiments in all, fled to the main body on Harlem Plains."[1] With difficulty and much loss Putnam made his way with his division from the city towards Harlem. Three hundred of his command were taken prisoners; fifteen others are known to have been killed;

[1] Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 199.

and nearly all the heavy cannon, and a considerable quantity of baggage, stores, and provisions were abandoned in the town. The speedy escape effected by Putnam was the result of precaution, not panic: for the British general, by a prompt maneuver stretching his command across an upper part of the island from Kip's Bay to the Hudson River, could have effectually cut off a complete retreat of that division. This was not attempted, perhaps not thought of, by the dilatory General Howe; nor was even a pursuit conducted with any vigor. Howe, having taken possession of the city by a small detachment, advanced and pitched his encampment near to the American lines, with his right on the East River and his left on the Hudson, and each extreme under the protection of the British ships. And Washington then drew at once all his forces together within the protection of the lines; and that night the American army rested undisturbed on the hills above the Plains of Harlem.

The following day was accomplished that brilliant episode, the fight on Harlem Plains, which appeared as a cheering ray in the darkness. The engagement and its skirmishes lasted four hours, though the sharp action of the strife was much less in its duration. Howe reported that eight officers and seventy privates were wounded and fourteen men killed. The Americans lost fifteen

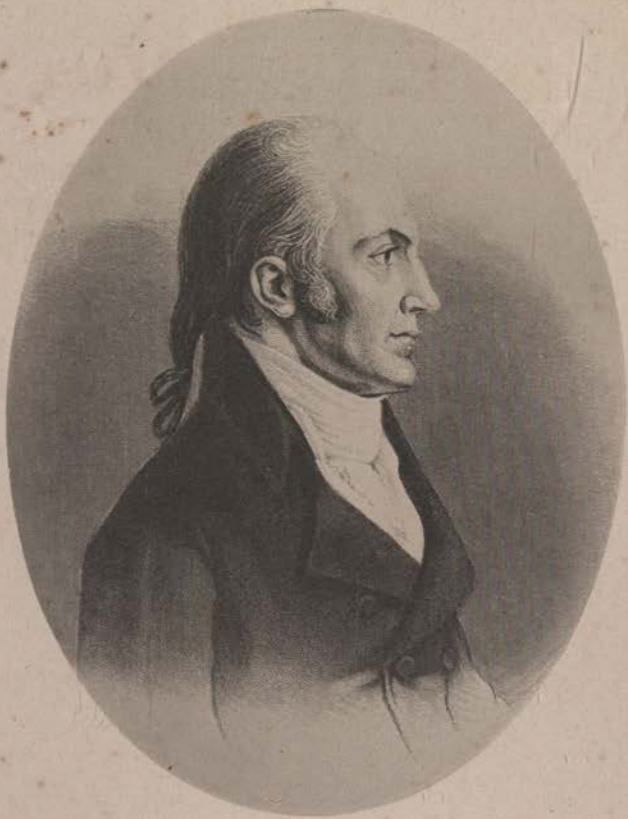
killed and forty-five wounded. The circumstance of this conflict was important on account simply of its influence upon the army at that instant. The retreating, eluding, flying, and discomfitures, which occurred since the British army debarked upon Long Island, combined to dishearten the troops, to weaken confidence in them, and their confidence in their officers. The spirited conduct and success of this day on Harlem Plains were accepted as evidence that the enemy were not invincible, and that courage and skillful action had not departed from the ranks of the colonists. The British commander did not venture to assault the works on the hills. His army remained inactive on the Plains below for more than three weeks.[1]

It was at this time and in this vicinity that Hamilton met with the two persons whose names are ever specially associated in the minds of men with his own.

Washington, when inspecting the erection of an earthwork which Hamilton superintended, entered into conversation with him, received impressions favorable to the young officer, and invited him to the tent of the commander-in-chief.[2]

[1] The most circumstantial and intelligible account of this fight is in a paper written by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, and read by him before the Historical Society of New York. It is published in the *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, for 1868, pp. 804–812.

[2] Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. I, p. 129.



A. Rees

Heliotype Printing Co., Boston.

The other was Aaron Burr. He was a Major, and acting as aid-de-camp to General Putnam. He arrived with that General's division in its hurried and dismembered retreat from the town. On the main road, about three miles from the Harlem bridge, was the turnpike-gate, near which stood, within the last quarter of a century, a quaintly constructed two-story dwelling-house. Here Washington paused awhile, retreating from Harlem towards the White Plains, establishing his lines, and encamping his troops along the eastern banks of the Bronx River. Within view of that house, we have been told,[1] Hamilton and Burr first met. Angry words passed between them. What was the cause is not known. It is probable that a mutual dislike was irresistible. They had little in common together. Burr was fearless, adventurous, insubordinate, subtle, and crafty. Hamilton was resolute, ambitious, brave, frank, and candid. Burr was the son of parents eminent for their correct and intellectual piety, even among the straitest sect of their evangelical creed. His maternal grandfather was the great divine and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards; his father, the distinguished President of Princeton College; his mother was Esther, the highly esteemed and best known of her father's worthy

[1] The late Mrs. Cochrane. See *ante*, p. 45. This lady died at Oswego, New York, August 26, 1857, aged 76.

daughters, of whom it has been said that "she exceeded most of her sex in the beauty of her person, as well as in her behavior and conversation; . . . . an ornament to her sex, being equally distinguished for the suavity of her manners, her literary accomplishments, and her unfeigned regard to religion." Both his parents died while he was very young. He had been a brigade-major to General Benedict Arnold in the expedition under Montgomery to Canada, and was in the attack upon Quebec when that hero fell, but in a distinct assault made at a distant part of the town, though a portion of the concerted plan for storming its fortifications. A romantic and fanciful story was told of how he was carrying Montgomery's body down the snow and ice obstructed declivity, when he was compelled to forsake the corpse on fast pursuit by the foe. The tale is mere invention;[1] but it is not probable that Burr was in any sense answerable for its origin. Burr, a little while after Washington took the command in New York, became, in May, by the commander's invitation, attached to his staff; went to reside at Richmond Hill, the headquarters, and had an allotted place at Washington's own table. He remained but a few weeks. Burr was ever impatient of control, and eager for personal distinc-

[1] See letter of Arnold, dated December 31, 1775, published in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, vol. 4, pp. 272, 273.

tion. His leave-taking of General Arnold was an act of cool and impudent insubordination.[1] The overmastering moral influence; the silent superiority of a noble life, which weak and bad men hate; the absence of encouragement for intrigue; the repression of all mere brilliant conversation and adventurous exploits, made the presence and habitation of Washington dull and tasteless to Aaron Burr. Simplicity and quiet grandeur were the attributes of Washington in his daily course. Burr saw nothing to admire in Washington, and nothing of advantage to hope for to himself, or even to the cause. Washington was no soldier, no scholar; only a plain, overdecorous, prudent, honest farmer, with some experience in border warfare. So thought Burr, and most sincerely. Washington, too, had for some reason conceived a dislike for him. In after years, it is known, this dislike assumed a more serious distrust and repulsion. In July, Burr left the commander and joined the staff of General Putnam, where we find him when he and Hamilton first met.

Burr was then in the twenty-first year of his

[1] Burr, on the instant of departure, was stepping into a boat on the river Sorel, when General Arnold, approaching him, said: "Why, Major Burr, you are not going?" "I am, sir." "But," answered Arnold, "you know it is against my orders." "I know," replied Burr, emphatically, "that you have the *power* to stop me, but nothing short of force shall do it." — Parton's *Life of Burr*, p. 78.

age,[1] nearly a year older than Hamilton; and smaller even than he in stature. With a countenance finely indicative of keen and quick intelligence; simple in language and accurate in elocution; polished and graceful in manner, and conversant with the niceties of high social intercourse, the young aid-de-camp, with his reputation for daring and skill in war and love, presented a most attractive individuality. His reputation for refined sensuous gallantry arose, or became more openly known, at this stage of his career. He certainly won when he was aid-de-camp to General Putnam the morbidly sentimental passion of the famed Margaret Moncrieffe, then a young girl fourteen years old. Her "Memoirs"[2] make no disguise, but rather an ostentatious display, of her fond regard for "him who subdued her virgin heart."

[1] Born at Newark, N. J., February 6, 1786. He graduated at Princeton College, September, 1772, when he was sixteen years old. Among his fellow-collegians were William Patterson, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, with whom Burr studied law; Colonel Matthias Ogden, who procured him the appointment on Washington's staff; Samuel Spring, the father of the Rev. Dr. Gardner Spring; Brockholst Livingston, the future Associate Justice of the National Supreme Court; William Bradford, the future Attorney-General in Washington's Administration, and James Madison, the fourth President of the United States. — Parton's *Life of Burr*, pp. 59, 131, 134. Rives' *Life and Times of Madison*, vol. I, p. 23.

[2] *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan, daughter of the late Major Moncrieffe, written by herself.* There is a copy of this work (privately printed, 1864) in the Mercantile Library of New York. The first edition was published in London in 1794.

Hamilton's name is not free from reproach for libidinousness. It appears to have been observed afterwards by Mrs. Washington when he was at Morristown.[1] He himself, curiously and characteristically, confessed it publicly, when Secretary of the Treasury. He admitted the frailty: but so as to enable him to defend his official honor. It is one of the most unique and interesting disclosures within the range of literature relating to the influences of principle and habit upon human conduct.[2] The autobiographic Memoirs of De Retz and the "Confessions" of Rousseau are less valuable as ethic-metaphysical evidences. Its decorous candor, the absence of feigned regret, and the unreserved recital of facts, commended him to the sympathy even of his political opponents, and gained a popular absolution not readily given in this country to like offenses. We again anticipate somewhat, so as to bring this phase of their moral characteristics under one contrasting view.

But Burr was an avowed and boastful libertine, pleasingly self-conscious of a subtle guile in the accomplishment of his desire, and the fascination by which he held those he enslaved. Margaret

[1] Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 250.

[2] The pamphlet, which Hamilton published in 1797, is entitled *Observations on Certain Documents . . . . in which the charge of Speculation against Alexander Hamilton, late Secretary of the Treasury, is fully refuted. Written by Himself. Philadelphia: Printed pro bono publico.*

Moncrieffe is no exceptional instance of the constancy which almost adulated his power of impure fascination. Though in intellect far superior, yet Burr had two conspicuous qualities which remind us of Rochester, whose personal courage was unquestionable and his lewdness refined; but there was a natural "gay audacity" about the favorite companion of Charles II. entirely foreign to the intellectual intrigue which Burr cultivated. He was a being whose pursuits in life were pleasure and personal glory: of comfort, contentment, and happiness he seems to have become insensible.

> "Restless, unfixed in principles and place;
> In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
> . . . . . .
> A daring pilot in extremity;
> Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high
> He sought the storm; but for a calm unfit,
> . . . . . .
> In friendship false, — implacable in hate;
> Resolved to ruin or to rule the state." [1]

Hamilton, however, in this defect, was not a Pericles nor a Cæsar: nor was the object of his attention an Aspasia or a Cleopatra. He was weak enough to be enticed from his conjugal fidelity, for a time, by an artful and illiterate adventuress called Maria Reynolds, the reputed wife of a depraved and mercenary man.

It is not always edifying to attempt an estimation of the comparative degrees of culpability: yet

[1] Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, part 1, lines 154–174.

there are often evolved thereby significant essentials which give light and shade to the truer understanding of human character.[1] There is certainly an obvious distinction between hypocrisy and a gross sin, — it is a difference not favorable to hypocrisy and guile. There is a distinction between the insidious allurements of seduction and the indulgence of impurity: and the difference is not favorable to the first named. It is pernicious to believe that "vice itself loses half its evil by losing all its grossness." There is no sense in which it can be true in fact or in morals. The genius of Edmund Burke can give no credit to its false lustre.[2] Refinement and subtlety in

[1] "These are examples, and the thing is founded upon reason." — *De Retz.*

[2] This will be remembered by most readers as one of the several brilliant phrases which Burke scintillates in his glowing apostrophe to the Queen of France, when he laments that "the Age of Chivalry is gone." Dr. Pusey, when discoursing at Oxford on the responsibility of intellect, and drawing to the illustration and enforcement of his theme the rich resources of Attic philosophy and of Christian ethics, most satisfactorily says: Intellect "invents ways by which to teach or incite our lower nature to offend against the laws of our nature. It will devise evil, from which our lower fellow-creatures, following blindly the laws of their limited capacities, are exempt. It conceives and effectuates those gigantic crimes at which the world grows pale. All the vices of our nature are puny and dwarfed without it. It guides to deeper evil each varied passion of our fallen nature. It severs off the seducer from the coarse and vulgar profligate; low cunning from common-place cheating; sophistry from naked untruth; subtle revenge from brute anger. The worst title which we could give, to brand an action of

sin is a quality which belongs to the temperament of "the fallen spirits," and not to the frailty of "poor human nature." When Burr boasted of gallantries, even beyond the truth, he there added the very hypocrisy of simulated vice. Aside from his wickedness he was not a very eminent man in his intellectual superiority. He has left no work behind that lives — and all that is related of his labors exhibit mere learning, industry, tact, and wiliness. In the course of his most remarkable career as politician and lawyer, he showed himself ever the partisan with selfish purpose, and the adroit advocate — never the patriotic statesman nor the pure jurist. Without magnanimity, without imagination, incapable of suffering for righteousness' sake, he was always servile to his immediate object. There are people with erratic fancies who will never cease to admire such qualities as bright talents, even when seen in the com-

cruelty, or revenge, or malice, or barbarity, or sensuality, would be to call it 'refined,' 'subtle;' meaning that intellect was more than usually debased to the service of man's lower passions. . . . . Abused intellect, makes proverbs of Balaam or Ahithophel, or Jonadab, or Simon Magus. No world-wide evil ever existed without it. The scourges of mankind fell not like mere avalanches, but wielded through it their widely desolating might. If we would describe an almost superhuman abuse of intellect to evil, we call it by the name of that being of tremendous subtlety of talent, the fallen archangel, and term it 'devilish.'" — Sermon on *The Responsibility of Intellect in Matters of Faith*, pp. 9, 10, preached Advent Sunday, 1872, and published by Parker & Son, Oxford, 1873.

panionship of crime. But those are qualities which attract only popular applause, and interest better people by suggestive peculiarities, — they do not attain to our respect or love. Burr presents the common spectacle of a man vitiated by the undue exaltation of intellect; of a bold, irregular, restless, personal ambition; and of excellent talents debased in the service of evil. The perversion of intellect has, indeed, a melancholy preëminence of evil: and "the corruption of the best is the worst." The uses in which he employed those talents enabled him to make his way to the highest civil position, but one, in his country; but they could not support him there with further credit or profit to himself. From the Vice-Presidency of the United States of America he speedily declined, and sank to be dreaded, and in the end despised, by the whole nation and foreign parts, as an assassin and traitor.[1]

We, hereafter, catch simply glimpses, here and there, of Hamilton and his much diminished body of artillerists, as the American Army was eluding and safely retiring before the cautious and closely pursuing enemy. Washington had

[1] If the *intent* constitutes the crime, then Burr's challenge to Hamilton meant assassination. "My friend Hamilton — whom I shot;" was one of the conversational formulas in which he referred to that event. His visit to Paris in 1810, was occupied in treasonable projects against his country. No other epithets than those in the text can, in the full revelations which we have now, be used without historical inaccuracy. — See *Life of George Ticknor*, vol. 2, p. 292.

abandoned entirely Manhattan Island. He had gone with the advanced division to the White Plains, and strengthened his position there. It afforded a secure stronghold for the whole of his army, and enabled him to be prepared to risk a general engagement, if Howe should attack him. The camp of the Americans was settled on elevated ground, which was defensible in its front by two lines of entrenchments, nearly parallel, and between four and five hundred yards from each other. The right wing extended to and rested on the little Bronx River, which, making a short bend, encompassed the flank and a part of the rear; the left wing reached to a small lake[1] sufficient in extent to give an effective security. The commanding height of Chatterton's Hill rose half a mile southward of the right flank, separated from it by the swollen waters of the Bronx and its low marshes. Troops, chiefly militia, were posted on that height to the number of nearly fifteen hundred, and were under the command of General Alexander M'Dougall. Sir William Howe had followed Washington, marching his army directly forward, and exhibiting an intention to force him to a general action. The region, beautiful at all times, was now presenting that rich and varied brief appearance when the year has ripened and is near its close: and, instead of autumn, brings

[1] Now called Rye Lake.

us the Indian summer. Over the landscape rested the light, glimmering, low-toned haze, peculiar to the time; as if the earliest hour of morn still lingered and subdued the atmosphere into a harmonious spirit with the approach of fall. The eyes of the invading hosts looked with wonder and delight upon a season new to them. The hand of Nature showered thickly over hill and valley a vivid splendor, which seemed to reflect the changeable hues of the luminous sky above them. The daylight has its sunset, — the American year has its closing glory also. It is when the leaves in our own autumn borrow, as it were, the colors of the rainbow, and, like the fabled creature, the year fades out of life in prismatic effulgence.

On the 28th of October a battalion of Hessians and a British brigade advanced to cross the Bronx. The Hessians, unwilling to ford the turbulent waters, were erecting a bridge from bank to bank. Hamilton had planted on a ledge of rock, concealed by the heavy foliage of trees and shrubs, two field-pieces, which, covering the place where the men were at work, delivered a fire, killing several of them, and throwing the Hessians there into disorder. The British troops, seeing this repulse, spiritedly passed through the stream a little way below; rushed, with fixed bayonets, up towards the hill to capture the field-pieces, reeled before a close and sharp fire from the American

infantry, and were compelled to fall back upon their advancing supports. The bridge during that time was completed, and the Hessians went over and, joining the British troops, formed in good order, caught the ardor of their impetuous courage, ascended the acclivity, and, after a short but severe fight, drove the American militia from the position on those heights. While the militia, quite new to service, were scattering, a part of M'Dougall's brigade, most of the infantry, and Hamilton's battery, retired over the hill to the protected road leading to the entrenched camp in their rear. This was the engagement known as the battle of White Plains, or "Chatterton's Hill."[1]

There was no pursuit. The British force lay that night on its arms. Howe, who had taken a precise view of Washington's main and fortified hold, judged that it was too strong to be attempted by assault; and so the attack which he at his first onset meditated, was delayed for several days awaiting a reënforcement from Earl Percy, who was at Harlem, and then further delayed by sudden and heavy rains. This cessation of hostility gave to Washington such an opportunity as that which occurred at Long Island. In

[1] Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 210, 211; Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, pp. 112–114; Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. 1, pp. 133, 134; Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 9, pp. 165–182.

the night-time all the Americans went to other stations on the hills in their rear; and there again fortified. Washington became more capable to defend and protect his army. So circumspectly and carefully was this retirement performed, that the fact of its full accomplishment was the earliest intimation which the British commander received that Washington was safe and beyond his power. Then Howe instantly determined not to venture a dislodgment of the Americans from their formidable entrenchments among those hills; and his plan for a general engagement was thrown aside. He began at once to retire his army to the neighborhoods near the Hudson River and Kingsbridge.[1] Washington believed, at the first, that this was a scheme to entice him from the strong places in the hills. He clung to his new encampment until, at length, circumstances clearly convinced him that the British were in truth retracing their march, and probably with design to capture Fort Washington, pass over the Hudson into the Jerseys, and, not unlikely, endeavor to reach and take Philadelphia. The first point of the design was swiftly and unexpectedly achieved. The treason and desertion of an adjutant had prepared the way.[2] On the 16th of November, after a most

[1] Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. I, pp. 114, 115.

[2] The most circumstantial and complete account of this assault is one in an article entitled *Mount Washington and its Capture*,

resolute and gallant defense, lasting from four to five hours, Fort Washington was surrendered to assaulting parties, chiefly of Hessians under General Knyphausen, and its entire garrison taken prisoners.

This was the severest blow which had yet come to the revolutionary cause; and it came seemingly at a time most unfavorable to the expectations of the American commander. He had but two days before arrived at Fort Lee; having crossed the river into the Jerseys, after a tour, with his officers, inspecting the defenses in and about the Highlands of the Hudson. He, with General Greene, watched the assaults and saw

written by Mr. E. F. De Lancey, and published in *The Magazine of American History*, for February, 1877, pp. 65–90. Speaking of the Hessians, Mr. De Lancey, with accuracy and commendable historical candor, states that their officers "were all noblemen. None but nobles could hold commissions under any German sovereign then, any more than they can now. The military services of Germany and Austria are the most aristocratic in Europe in 1876, as they were in 1776. As far as birth was concerned, the Hessian officers as a whole in Howe's army were superior to the English officers as a whole. A rich middle class Englishman could buy a commission for a son, and it was often done, by favor of the Horse Guards, for the express purpose of making the youth 'a gentleman.' The Hessian officers in America were polite, courteous, well-bred gentlemen, educated soldiers, and in the social circles of the time great favorites. As military men they were the best in Europe at that period. And of this we can have no stronger proof than the fact that to one of these very Hessians, or German soldiers, did the Continental army owe all the tactics and discipline it ever possessed — Baron de Steuben."

from the summit of the Palisades the enemy take Fort Washington. Howe did not on this occasion pause, but followed his success; and Lord Cornwallis, with a large detachment, landed on the Jersey side, about six miles farther up the Hudson than where Fort Lee is situate, gained with artillery the rising grounds there, and set out on a march down through the country between the Hudson and the Hackensack Rivers. The garrison at Fort Lee speedily withdrew to the main body of the American Army near the Hackensack village; and there and then began that rapid, orderly, and memorable series of elusions and retreats of the American Army to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, closely pursued by Lord Cornwallis, and then, crossing the river, safely encamped on the west bank of the Delaware.

Once during this retreat some of the rear troops of the American Army were overtaken and brought into a short skirmish. We have here another glance at Hamilton. As those troops were passing over the Raritan River by the ford near Brunswick, the advance of the British came in view and began firing upon them. Washington stood on an elevation of the river's bank, watching with anxiety the exposed position of his soldiers to the fire. His attention was soon drawn to the brilliant courage and admirable skill

displayed by a young officer of artillery who directed a battery, keeping the advancing force in check, and affording protection to the retreat. Washington ordered Lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald, one of his aids-de-camp, to learn who that officer was, and bid him come to the headquarters at the first halt.[1]

Scarcely half the American troops had time to reach Princeton before Howe himself, swiftly following, entered Brunswick. As the remainder of the troops came up and went into Princeton, we are presented with one of the most lively and descriptive individual portraitures which has been preserved of Hamilton in his early career. "Well do I remember the day," we are told by one who saw what he relates, "when Hamilton's company marched into Princeton. It was a model of discipline; at their head was a boy, and I wondered at his youth; but what was my surprise, when struck with his slight figure, he was pointed out to me as that Hamilton of whom we had already heard so much." "I noticed," says another, "a youth, a mere stripling, small, slender, almost delicate in frame, with a cocked hat pulled down over his eyes, apparently lost in thought, with his hand resting on a cannon, and every now and then pat-

[1] *Recollections, etc., of Washington*, by his adopted son, Custis pp. 344, 345.

ting it, as if it were a favorite horse or a pet plaything."[1]

None of the British crossed the Delaware; but were afterwards posted chiefly at Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Burlington. Washington encamped, the 10th of December, near the falls of the Trenton. Here he determined to make a stand and act on the aggressive. The pursued but not defeated army had struggled manfully with the angel of Adversity; and, by that discipline, strength and hope came to them. But it was, indeed, a gloomy time for the country, and whatever light there was shone in encircling darkness. The British arms were in possession of Rhode Island, Long Island, the City of New York, Staten Island, nearly all of the Jerseys. The enemy was gathering in power on the east bank of the Delaware to invade Pennsylvania and enter Philadelphia. Whatever may have been Washington's apprehensions, he presented to every one composure of manner and active presence of mind. He encouraged more than ever the belief that there could be but one result to the struggle, and that ultimately favorable to independence. What will he do if the enemy take Philadelphia? he was asked. "We will retreat," he answered, "beyond the Susquehanna River, and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany Mountains." He knew the

[1] Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. 3, p. 88.

temperament of the American people; the deep and pervading principle of the controversy; the resources of the confederated States; misfortunes he esteemed as temporary: difficulties as things to be overcome; and he persuaded himself, and persuaded others, that the fate of the new nation was in its own keeping. He was then about to give an instance that his confidence was not mistaken. Indeed, the crisis required an affirmative proof and conspicuous example.

From the day that Washington crossed the Delaware his thoughts were directed to devising some means by which he might retrieve loss of men and territory, and check, if not overcome and beat back, the enemy. He resolved, finally, to venture upon the experiment of suddenly recrossing the Delaware, and attacking them upon their own ground. The project was daring, but not without urgent cause. He had reason to suppose that the British would attempt to come over the river at some lower point, and bring all their force to bear, at once, upon Philadelphia. The Congress itself had anticipated that this was the plan, and had retired to Baltimore, putting the Susquehanna as well as the Delaware between that body and the enemy. Notwithstanding the jealousy with which its members generally regarded the danger of a military ascendency, they, in this alarming aspect of circumstances, in-

vested Washington with powers so extensive as to constitute him in all respects a Dictator, in the Roman meaning of the office.[1] At Trenton were posted three regiments of Hessians, they who were in the assaults upon Chatterton's Hill and in the capturing of Fort Washington. Those troops were foreign mercenaries; well commanded by their own countrymen, distinguished for experience as soldiers and the culture and habits of gentlemen. Prejudice has attached unjust obloquy to their name.

'Christmas night was chosen for the execution of the project. At dusk those of the Continental troops selected for the special service, under the direct command of Washington in person, began to make their way in boats, through the floating masses of ice, towards the opposite banks. Snow and hail fell heavily during the whole time. The Hessians, yet under the influence of a Christmas carousal, were driven from the protection of the town, intercepted in their retreating by a body of men who had been sent, on landing, to the back of the town, and, surrounded by the assaulting parties, all of them surrendered as prisoners. Colonel Rahl, their gallant commander, was mortally wounded. Before leaving Trenton, Washington, accompanied by General Greene, visited the dying Hessian commander, and offered him such marks of respectful attention and consolation as

[1] Sparks' *Life of Washington*, vol. 4. pp. 550–552.

become the victor and his guest. The terror of the Hessian name was banished by this successful assault. But the British main force was near by at Princeton and Brunswick, and Washington, thinking it not advisable to hazard what he had gained in moral strength, besides, his men being much exhausted by fatigue, went back over the Delaware the same day, and entered his encampment with the twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six private soldiers taken prisoners. Then the other British and Hessian troops which were posted at Bordentown, and in its vicinity in New Jersey, immediately retreated to their main body; the enemy's cantonments along the opposite banks of the Delaware were at once broken up; and Washington, as soon as his soldiers were refreshed, returned and pitched his headquarters, December 30, at the town of Trenton. Cornwallis was in New York on the eve of leaving for England. He quickly resumed command of the army in the Jerseys by special direction from Sir William Howe, hastened to Princeton, massed the army, and advanced upon Trenton. The Americans, as was their custom, retired to the high grounds. A sharp cannonade was kept up, principally at points where Cornwallis was attempting to cross the little stream called the Assapink. This was a prelude to what was accepted by the British commander as a general

engagement for the morrow. When the shades of night came down upon the scene the firing ceased, by both parties, and the British army, encamped near to the village, prepared to renew the attack on the coming morn. Fires were kindled and kept brightly burning through the night by either army in full view of each other. Washington was, while apparently at rest, executing one of his boldest and most successful strategic efforts. He was actually moving his whole army by a concealed march; again eluding a superior force, and about to surprise a body of the enemy left at Princeton. A little before midnight he began that quiet march. All night he caused men to be employed in digging entrenchments so close to the pickets of Cornwallis's army that they could be heard by them at the work; and the guards of the Americans remained at the bridge until the break of day disclosed to the British that their opponents of the previous day were vanished from the field. Washington reached Princeton shortly after the sun had risen. A combat instantly was brought about: and the battle of Princeton was fought and won.[1] The sound of distant guns was the first admonition which reached Cornwallis of his enemy's whereabouts. He hastily departed from in front of Trenton, and pursued his way towards Princeton: for he feared the safety

[1] January 3, 1777. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 9, pp. 227–256.

of the magazine at Brunswick, but eighteen miles beyond Princeton. He had almost entered Princeton as the rear-guard of the American army were leaving it. Washington, ever prudent and never flushed by indiscreet zeal, forbore to prosecute his full original scheme, and he turned aside from the road that leads to Brunswick. The lines of Ennius, quoted by Cicero in illustration of the character of Fabius Maximus, have never been more aptly used than when applied to the conduct of the American commander-in-chief at this instant in public affairs: —

> "Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem;
> Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem;
> Ergo magisque viri nunc gloria claret."[1]

His men had no sleep for thirty-six hours, and were over-fatigued from their long-continued labors and privations. Scant in food, deficient in raiment, chilled with the severity of winter, they sank down exhausted at Pluckemin and enjoyed a single night of rest.[2]

[1] "The man who saved his country by delay,
No tales could move him, and no envy sway;
And thus the laurels on his honoured brow,
In age shall flourish, and with time shall grow."
Cicero's *Offices*, chap. xxiv. p. 43; *Edmund's trans.*

These verses seem to have been in high reputation with the Romans, for Virgil has borrowed the first of them, and applied it, as Cicero does, to the conduct of Fabius Maximus against Hannibal.

[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 9, p. 251; Sparks *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 233.

Washington was content. The measure of needed success with which Providence had blessed his efforts, restored the hope that was fainting. The enemy were driven from all their posts on and near the Delaware, — Cornwallis was at Brunswick with his troops clustered about him, — Philadelphia was relieved. The American Army, revived by that few hours of repose, marched on the 5th of January into Morristown, and there, two days afterwards, Washington established his winter-quarters. He did not remain, however, inactive: from his encampments he sent out expeditions at irregular moments, suddenly to assail and harrass detached parties of the enemy; and these were conducted with such adroitness and success that soon not a British nor Hessian regiment was in the Jerseys, except those encamped at Brunswick and Amboy, which places had open communications by water with New York City. In Morristown, and in the near villages of the region, Washington and his army found comfortable shelter; the rivers, woods, and mountainous character of the surrounding country, easily capable of defense, imparted to them the assurance of safety, and the fertile vicinity yielded sufficient supplies. With his largest camp in the Spring Valley on the southern slope of Madison Hill, and his outposts stretched to within three miles of Amboy, Washington awaited the opening

of the new campaign, which, as he designed, was to end by driving decisively all the enemy back to Staten Island, from whence they started the previous August.

"Achievements so astonishing gained for the American commander a very great reputation, and were regarded with wonder by all nations, as well as by the Americans. Every one applauded the prudence, the firmness, and the daring of General Washington. All declared him the saviour of his country; all proclaimed him equal to the most renowned commanders of antiquity, and especially distinguished him by the name of the American Fabius. His name was in the mouths of all men, and celebrated by the pens of the most eminent writers. The greatest personages in Europe bestowed upon him praise and congratulation. Thus the American general wanted neither a noble cause to defend, nor an opportunity of acquiring glory, nor the genius to avail himself of it, nor a whole generation of men competent and well disposed to render him homage."[1]

Near the end of January, 1777, the most important event of Hamilton's early public life occurred. When he appeared at headquarters on the route from Brunswick to Trenton, in obedience to the request communicated to him by

[1] Botta's *Storia della Guerra dell'Independenza degli Stati Uniti d'America*, tom. ii. lib. 7.

Lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald, Washington saw that it was the same young officer of artillery who had previously attracted him by his intelligence at the entrenchments on Harlem Heights. Whether as the result of that interview or of more frequent interviews pending the encampment on the west bank of the Delaware and during the time they had already been near each other at Morristown, or whether General Greene had again met Hamilton in this campaign, resumed the acquaintance, his good opinion of him confirmed, and he conferred with Washington in regard to Hamilton; or, — what is very likely, — all these circumstances acting at once, the fact is that he became the object of the commander's confidence, and, soon after the army went into its winter-quarters, Hamilton was a member of Washington's staff and his private secretary. The story is best told in the words of General Greene's distinguished son and biographer:[1] "Another incident of this time, of great importance to the common cause, but to Greene a bright gleam of sunshine, ever growing brighter and brighter as the general darkness thickened, was Hamilton's entrance into the family of the commander-in-chief as aid-de-camp, on the first of March. Hamilton, as has already been seen, had attracted Greene's attention during the summer of 1776; but strongly as

[1] *Life of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. I, pp. 333–4.

they were drawn towards each other, their intercourse had been controlled, during the busy months that followed, by their relative positions and duties, rather than by their inclinations. Now, however, it quickly ripened into friendship. Greene was at headquarters daily, as a counsellor and friend. Hamilton was always there to meet him as the confidential secretary of the man they both loved and honored. Their views seldom differed, if ever, both with regard to persons and to things, and each found in the other's mind an energy, an activity, a vigor of grasp, a breadth of comprehension, a quickness of perception, and a power of patient thought, which he recognized as the distinctive characteristics of his own. Family tradition has always represented Hamilton as the object of Greene's peculiar affection; and Hamilton, who lived to put his opinion of Greene upon record,[1] bore witness to the enormous powers

[1] *Eulogium on Major-General Greene*, delivered by Hamilton before the Society of the Cincinnati, July 4, 1789. Speaking of the retreat through the Jerseys, he says: "As long as the measures which conducted us safely through the first most critical stages of the war shall be remembered with approbation; as long as the enterprises of Trenton and Princeton shall be regarded as the dawnings of that bright day which afterwards broke forth with such resplendent lustre; as long as the almost magic operations of the remainder of that memorable winter, distinguished not more by these events than by the extraordinary spectacle of a powerful army straitened within narrow limits by the phantom of a military force, and never permitted to transgress those limits with impunity; in which skill supplied the place of means, and disposition was the

of his mind, under circumstances which would have made exaggeration a satire."

It was about the same time, and the inference is probably right that it was before Hamilton actually entered upon his duties as aid-de-camp, that Washington became aware that his young secretary was the author of the anonymous communication which he received just before the battle at Long Island. Hamilton, it seems, had crossed over to Brooklyn, and thence, by examining the position of the American forces, he became convinced that, with such materials as composed that army, a conflict with troops which consisted all of experienced soldiers, would be hopeless. Filled with these ideas, he wrote an anonymous letter to Washington, detailing many and forcible arguments against risking an action, and warmly recommended a retreat to the strong grounds of the mainland. The letter excited no little surprise in Washington's mind: but it was mingled with respect for the ability which its acuteness displayed.[1]

Hamilton, March 6, 1777, addressed from

substitute for an army; as long, I say, as these operations shall continue to be the objects of curiosity and wonder, so long ought the name of Greene to be revered by a grateful country. To attribute to him a portion of the praise which is due, as well to the formation as to the execution of the plans that effected these important ends, can be no derogation from that wisdom and magnanimity which knew how to select and embrace councils worthy of being pursued." — *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 2, pp. 483, 484.

[1] *Recollections, etc., of Washington*, by his adopted son, p. 344.

Morristown the following letter to the New York Convention, then in session at Kingston, on the Hudson: —

"GENTLEMEN, — It is necessary I should inform you of the changes which have happened in your Company of Artillery, which should have been done long ago, had I not been prevented by sickness, from which I am but lately recovered.

General Washington has been pleased to appoint me one of his aids-de-camp. . . . . There remain now only two officers, Lieutenants Bean and Thompson, and about thirty men. The reason that the number of men is so reduced, besides death and desertions, was owing to a breach of orders in Lieutenant Johnson, who first began the enlistment of the company; and who, instead of engaging them during the war, according to the intention of the State, engaged them for the limited term of a twelvemonth. The time of those enlisted by him has expired; and for want of powers to reëngage them, they have mostly entered into other corps.

I have to request you will favor me with instructions as to your future intentions. If you design to retain the company on the particular establishment of the State, it will be requisite to complete the number of officers, and make provision to have the company filled by a new enlistment. In this case, I should beg leave to recommend to your notice, as far as a Captain-lieutenancy, Mr. Thompson. . . . . But if you should determine to resign the company, as I expect you will, considering it as an extraordinary burthen, without affording any special advantages, the Continent will readily take it off your hands, so soon as you shall intimate your design to relinquish it. I doubt not you will see the propriety of speedily deciding on the matter, which the good of the service requires."[1]

[1] *Works of Hamilton*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 12.

Hamilton, then raised to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, received from the Convention the following answer, dated March 17[1]: —

"DEAR SIR, — We are to inform you, that Robert B. Livingston is, with us, a committee appointed by Convention to correspond with you at Headquarters. You will give us pleasure in the information that His Excellency is recovered from the illness which had seized him the day before Messrs. Cuyler and Taylor left Headquarters. Any occurrences in the army which may have happened, you will please to communicate.

"In answer to your letter to the Convention, of the sixth of March instant, we are to inform you, that it is determined to permit that company to join the Continental Army, for which you will take the necessary steps. At the same time, you will take some notice of the disposition of our guns, which, as you well know, are all in the Continental service; and unless some little attention is paid to them, we may, perhaps, never see them again. We are, Sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

GOUV. MORRIS,
WM. ALLISON."

Thus ended the military relations of Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton with the State of New York. The remainder of his artillery company were merged in the Continental Army. But it will be observed, that he was selected by his State as its correspondent at Headquarters because of his intelligence and prudence, and for the reason of his being near in place and confidence to Washington. This duty, with the knowledge of the

[1] *Works of Hamilton.* vol. I, p. 12.

Commander, he accepted; and then immediately began that interesting correspondence which discloses much concerning the inner history of the war for our independence.

Here ended the youth — the early years — of ALEXANDER HAMILTON; if it can be said of him that he ever had a youth, as other men have, in intellectual growth and moral capacity. And here, with proper regard to the divisions into which the entire subject divides itself, closes the special theme of this volume. We do not propose to enter now[1] upon the memoirs of his labors in diplomacy and statesmanship. But the outlines of those memoirs, certainly, are familiar to the general student of American history. They present the historical personage which posterity acknowledges as the Founder of the American States in Empire.

He had passed from the service of the State of New York into that of the new Nation. The great future opened to him. A wide, indeed national, sphere of usefulness immediately spread its ample domain to his aspiring thought, and gave occasions, at once, for the employment of his intuitive perception and creative power when he, as the young Secretary of the Commander-in-

[1] See ante, *Introduction.*

chief, entered the headquarters at Morristown. Nothing gained was lost. Friendships already made were confirmed and new, illustrious, intimacies added. Those beautiful, natural traits of his kindly and frank spirit, cultured throughout his youth, — which drew to his side many and various aids; which influenced partisan rivals to almost forgive him his superb abilities in admiration of his excellent temper and conciliatory, reasonable disposition; which made him the ever-welcome and cherished neighbor, companion, and friend, — were not neglected nor impaired in the success and exaltation of his after-life. He remained a grand, natural man; free from the ostentation and superciliousness of inferior characters, loved by those who knew him, for his generous, cheery, and sympathetic heart, and respected by adversaries for his magnanimity and justice.

There is something very attractive to us as we contemplate him during those early years of which we have written. We confess that we like to think of him as he there appears, — constant to the purpose of a noble life. The world was all before him. He was not the creature of circumstance, nor its servant. He chose his path, and never turned back. We are pleased when we think of him as the earnest student, — the boy that was willing to risk his life, though not

his character, to exalt his station, — as the youth that knew himself, confided in his own understanding and strength, and yet never ventured beyond his ability, — as one who depended not on genius alone, but brought to his aid on every occasion the practical experience of actual knowledge, — and as the friend whose ardor no adversity could chill and whose faithfulness no reverse of fortune could alienate.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.—Page 41.

EXTRACT FROM CHANCELLOR KENT'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE LAW ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 21, 1836.

"AMONG his brethren Hamilton was indisputably preëminent. This was universally conceded. He rose at once to the loftiest heights of professional eminence, by his profound penetration, his power of analysis, the comprehensive grasp and strength of his understanding, and the firmness, frankness, and integrity of his character. We may say of him, in reference to his associates, as was said of Papinian, *omnes longo post se intervallo reliquerit.* A few reminiscences of the display of his genius and eloquence may not be uninteresting to the gentlemen I have now the honor to address.

"In January, 1785, I attended, for the first time, a term of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Hamilton, in an interesting case then brought to a hearing, commanded great attention and applause by his powers of argument and oratory.

"In the case I allude to, Chancellor Livingston claimed lands to a large amount in value, and lying on the north part of the County of Dutchess. . . . . He carried his cause, as it were, by a *coup-de-main*, and obtained a verdict rather by the force of his character, and the charm of his eloquence, than by the weight of evidence. In the January term following, a new trial was moved for, on the ground that the verdict was against evidence. I had the pleasure of being present at the argument, and a witness to the contest of

genius and eloquence between Chancellor Livingston and Colonel Hamilton, the master-spirits who controlled all hearts on that occasion, — the one contending for a new trial and the other resisting it. . . . . The tall and graceful figure of Chancellor Livingston, and his polished wit and classical taste, contributed not a little to deepen the impression resulting from the ingenuity of his argument, the vivacity of his imagination, and the dignity of his station.

"Mr. Hamilton was then at the age of twenty-seven, and he had never met and encountered such a distinguished opponent. He appeared to be agitated by intense thought. His eyes, his lips, and his pen, were in rapid motion during the Chancellor's address. He rose with firmness and dignity, and spoke for perhaps two hours in support of his motion. His reply was fluent, argumentative, ardent, and accompanied with great emphasis of manner and expression. It was marked for a searching analysis of the case, and a mastery of all the law and learning suitable to the subject. . . . . I have always regarded Mr. Hamilton's argument, near the close of his life, in the celebrated *Crosswell case*, as the greatest forensic effort he ever made. The subject was grave, and of lofty import. It related to the liberty of the press, and to the right of the jury in a criminal case, under the general issue, to determine the law as well as the fact. He never, in any case at the bar, commanded higher reverence for his principles, or equal admiration of the power and pathos of his eloquence. But we have not time to enlarge on that case; and it will be more interesting, as an example of the mighty powers of that great man, to take a general view of his efforts on a broader theatre, and not only as a lawyer but as a statesman, before a very dignified assembly, and upon the highest and noblest topics of political discussion that ever arose in this State. I am the more willing to recur to that history because I am apprehensive that the scanty memorials of the exhibition of Mr. Hamil-

ton's talents on that occasion are going fast into oblivion. I allude to the Convention which assembled at Poughkeepsie in the summer of 1788, to deliberate and decide on the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The intense interest with which the meeting of the Convention was anticipated and regarded can hardly be conceived at this day, and much less adequately described. I then resided in that village, and was enabled and induced to attend the Convention as a spectator, daily and steadily during the entire six weeks of its session, and I was of course an eye and ear witness to everything of a public nature that was said or done. The Convention was composed of sixty-five members, and not one of them remains a survivor at this day. That bright and golden age of the Republic may now be numbered 'with the years beyond the flood,' and I am left in comparative solitude."

APPENDIX B, page 306.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD BLESSED FOR EVER; AMEN: —

The wise and gracious Providence of this mercifull God, having put it into the hearts of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut in North America, to desire that the Blessings of a free, valid and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy, might be communicated to them, and a Church regularly formed in that part of the western world upon the most antient, and primitive Model: And application having been made for this purpose, by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter in Connecticut, to the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Church in Scotland: The said Bishops having taken this proposal into their serious Consideration, most heartily

concurred to promote and encourage the same, as far as lay in their power; and accordingly began the pious and good work recommended to them, by complying with the request of the Clergy in Connecticut, and advancing the said Dr. Samuel Seabury to the high Order of the Episcopate; At the same time earnestly praying that this Work of the Lord thus happily begun might prosper in his hands, till it should please the great and glorious Head of the Church, to increase the number of Bishops in America, and send forth more such Labourers into that part of his Harvest. — Animated with this pious hope, and earnestly desirous to establish a Bond of peace, and holy Communion, between the two Churches, the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, whose names are underwritten, having had full and free Conference with Bishop Seabury, after his Consecration and Advancement as aforesaid, agreed with him on the following Articles, which are to serve as a Concordate, or Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder of the antient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut.

Art. I. They agree in thankfully receiving, and humbly and heartily embracing the whole Doctrine of the Gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy Scriptures: and it is their earnest and united Desire to maintain the Analogy of the common Faith, once delivered to the Saints, and happily preserved in the Church of Christ, thro his divine power and protection, who promised that the Gates of Hell should never prevail against it.

Art. II. They agree in believing this Church to be the mystical Body of Christ, of which he alone is the Head, and supreme Governour, and that under him, the chief Ministers, or Managers of the Affairs of this spiritual Society, are those called Bishops, whose Exercise of their sacred Office being independent on all Lay powers, it follows of consequence, that their spiritual Authority and Jurisdiction cannot be affected by any Lay-Deprivation.

Art. III. They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full Communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, it being their sincere Resolution to put matters on such a footing, as that the Members of both Churches may with freedom and safety communicate with either, when their Occasions call them from the one Country to the other: Only taking Care when in Scotland not to hold Communion in sacred Offices with those persons, who under pretence of Ordination by an English, or Irish Bishop, do, or shall take, upon them, to officiate as Clergymen in any part of the National Church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon, as schismatical Intruders, designed only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned Disturbers of the poor Remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they, have, under many Difficulties, labored to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future Ages.

Art. IV. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Article, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a Conformity in Worship, and Discipline established between the two Churches as is consistent with the different Circumstances and Customs of Nations: And in order to avoid any bad effects that might otherwise arise from political Differences, they hereby express their earnest Wish and firm Intention to observe such prudent Generality in their public Prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to Apostolic Rules, and the practice of the primitive Church.

Art. V. As the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the Administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal Bond of Union among Christians, as well as the most Solemn Act of Worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little Variance here as possible. And tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Breth-

ren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the Wish of some of the most eminent Divines of the Church of England that she also had more closely followed, than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed Liturgy used in the Reign of King Edward VI.; between which, and the form used in the Church of Scotland, there is no Difference in any point, which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right Ministration of the holy Eucharist. — In this capital Article therefore of the Eucharistic Service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much Unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious View of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle Methods of Argument and Persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other.

Art. VI. It is also hereby agreed and resolved upon for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual Intercourse of Ecclesiastical Correspondence carried on, when Opportunity offers, or necessity requires as may tend to the Support, and Edification of both Churches.

Art. VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the most solemn manner, that in the whole of this Transaction, they have nothing else in view, but the Glory of God, and the good of his Church; And being thus pure and upright in their Intentions, they cannot but hope, that all whom

it may concern, will put the most fair and candid construction on their Conduct, and take no Offence at their feeble, but sincere Endeavours to promote what they believe to be the Cause of Truth, and of the common Salvation.

In Testimony of their Love to which, and in mutual good Faith and Confidence, they have for themselves, and their Successors in Office cheerfully put their Names and Seals to these presents at Aberdeen this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-four.

ROBERT KILGOUR, Bishop & Primus. [SEAL.]
ARTHUR PETRIE, Bishop. [SEAL.]
JOHN SKINNER, JR., Bishop. [SEAL.]
SAMUEL SEABURY, Bishop. [SEAL.]

APPENDIX C, page 384.

JARED SPARKS, writing to Lord Mahon from Cambridge, Mass., October 21, 1854, says: "It has always been understood here that the American uniform, Buff and Blue, which you mention, was adopted from the Whig costume or badges, previously used in England or Scotland. I am persuaded it did not originate in America." And see the subject of its probable origin discussed in the article on "The Buff and Blue: Why were these the Whig Colors?" printed in Lord Stanhope's *Miscellanies*, pp. 98–106.

INDEX.

INDEX.

ADAMS (ABIGAIL), letter of, to her husband on failure of Penn's mission, 357, *note* 2.

Adams (Charles Francis), his conduct as Minister to England, 137; and quoted, 137, *note;* 170; influence of James Otis, 228, *note* 2.

Adams (John), opinion favorable to English constitution, 12; description of Franklin and Voltaire at the Academy, 29, *note;* aptitude of American intellect, 52; suspects the good faith of Vergennes, 64; presents memorial to Court of St. James, 67, 120, 121; censures States' neglect of public debts, 116; fails to get a commercial treaty with England, 120; interviews with George III., 121, 127, and *note;* meets with "dry decency," 122; presented by Lord Mansfield, 129; interview with Oswald, 133; foils Vergennes' scheme, 132–135; member of the Sodality, 170; English constitution best form of government, 192, *note;* anecdote of George III., 197, *note* 2; Adams' high opinion of Otis, 227; his remarkable discussion on omnipotence of Parliament, 228; on the essentiality of an independent judiciary, 228, 229; arrives with delegates at New York on the way to Philadelphia, 229; visits King's College, 231; his circumspection, 231–242; interview with Patrick Henry, 240, *note* 2; Dickinson's rudeness to Adams, 318, *note*, 319; opposes Penn's mission, 280; letter to his wife on Washington's appointment, 282; Mrs. Adams' letter on failure of Penn's mission, 357, *note* 2; origin of American navy, 373, *note* 2.

Adams (Samuel), 229, 230; conciliatory conduct of, 239, and *note*, 241; hope of, fulfilled, 260.

"Adolphus' History of England" quoted, 312, *note;* 323, *note.*

Agents, colonial, appointed to England, 204, 205, and *note* 1; ask to be examined by Parliament, 272.

Alfred the Great, 23; constitutional principles of, restored, 186.
American Revolution, an epoch, see *Introduction*, i.; engendered great thoughts and actions, 185.
"American uniform" worn by Fox and Burke in Parliament, 64, 65; Webster, 64, 65; probable origin of its colors, 384, and *note* 3.
Ames (Fisher), his denunciation of neglect in paying public debts, 125.
Aranda (Duke of), advised by Talleyrand to study the "Federalist," 37; remarkable interview with Jay and La Fayette, 131.
Aristotle and Hamilton compared, 37; 100; favorite author with Hamilton, 157, 172; his "Politics," 180.
Arnold (Benedict), Burr, brigade-major to, 402, and *note* 2.
Army, dangerous meeting of its officers, 70; address of Washington to, 70.
Asia, British war-ship, 350; fires on New York, 352, 353, 354, 357; anger of people at, 354; provisioned from New York, 356; indignation at, 356, 357, 368.
Assembly, old Colonial of New York, dissolved, 289; its character and power, 290, 291; Seabury's influence upon, 298, 299; obsequiousness of the body, 298, 299.

BACON (LORD), quoted, 179; his "Essays," favorite book with Hamilton, 180.
Balance of power in Italian States, 16.
"Bancroft's History of United States, quoted, 87, 92, 232, *note*, 346, *note*; 384, *note* 2.
Bard (Drs. John and Samuel), 179, and *note* 1; Hamilton studies medicine with Samuel, 179.
Bayard (Nicholas, a deputy), public records at his house, 389.
Berkeley (Bishop), prophecy as to America, 193; verses quoted, 193, *note* 1, 293; Seabury preaches in his pulpit, 307.
"Bigelow's Life of Franklin," quoted, 29; the scene at "the Cockpit," 207, and *note* 2.
"Blackstone's Commentaries on Law of England," general study of, in the revolutionary epoch, 52; quoted, 57; widely read in America, 88; on omnipotence of Parliament, 88, 89.
"Blackwood's Magazine" praises the "Federalist," 37.
Bolingbroke (Lord), 36; his "Patriot King," 51.

Boston, evacuated by British army, 369, 370.
Boston "Port Bill," brings controversy to practical issue, 201.
"Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson," cited, 272, *note* 1; Flora Macdonald, 346, *note.*
"Botta's History of, etc., the United States of America," quoted, 423, 424.
"Boucher's View, etc., of American Revolution," cited, 252, *note.*
Boudinot (Elias), early friend of Hamilton, 173; letter to Lord Stirling about Hamilton, 387.
"Brodie's Constitutional History," quoted, 90, 91.
Brougham (Henry, Lord), quoted, 61.
"Buckle's History of Civilization," quoted, 52, *note;* English liberty protected by American revolt, 60, 61, *note;* cited, 171, *note* 1.
Bunker Hill, battle of; effects of, 200, 201, 277, 282, 283, 319, 369.
Burgoyne (General), 319.
Burke (Edmund), consults interests, not opinions, of constituents, 24, 25; style compared with Hamilton's, 36; on character of the American intellect, 50; study of law in America, 51, *note* 1; speech on conciliation, 85; on "Blackstone's Commentaries," 88; agent of New York, 203, and *note;* correspondence with Assembly on Quebec Bill, 202, *note;* quoted, 207, 234, 267, *note,* 24, 407; states the principle of the colonial question, 267; presents remonstrance from New York, 272, 273, 274, 290; speeches on America, 334.
Burleigh (Lord), England not to be ruined but by a Parliament, 89; his business method, 150, *note.*
Burr (Aaron), visits Talleyrand, 32, 33; present with Hamilton at Cincinnati dinner, 381, *note;* first acquaintance with Hamilton, 400, 401; biographical notice of, career and character, 400–409; not with Montgomery personally at Quebec, 402; his insubordination, 402, *note* 2; affair with Margaret Moncrieffe, 404, 405.
Burr (Esther, the mother of Aaron Burr), 401, 402.
Burr (President of Princeton College), 401.
Butler (Charles), his Reminiscences, quoted, 56, *note.*

CÆSAR, effect of his violent death, 15; his method of working, 150.
Calonne, consults Mirabeau on finance, 26.

Canada, invasions and motives of, 347, 370, 371, 381, 382.
Canadians (French), rivals of New England colonies, 189, 322.
Camden (Lord), 269.
Campaign in New York and New Jersey of 1776–1777, 376–432.
Carroll (Archbishop of Baltimore), colonial agent to Canada, 327, *note.*
Catholic Emancipation, 185, 189; Wellington's early speech on, 324, and *note.*
Caucus, Jefferson and Madison nominated by, 7, *note.*
Celtic colonists of Georgia and Carolinas, 345.
Centralized government, colonists' dread of, 78, 83.
Cerrachi's bust of Hamilton, 32.
Chandler (Rev. Dr.), joins Seabury, 295, 297.
Chatham (Earl of), error imputed to him for acquiring Canada, 56, and *note;* that error sought to be redressed, 56; opinion of, 61, *note;* name of Fort DuQuesne changed, and statue erected in his honor, 190; letter from Shelburne, 261, *note;* opinions on American affairs, 263, 264; encomium on Congress of 1774, 264, 265, and *note;* reports of, 264, 265; his plan for adjustment of controversy rejected, 272, 290; Vergennes, 323, *note* 1.
Chatterton's Hill, fight at, 411, 412.
Church (Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral), quoted, 49, 305.
Cicero, quoted as to Cæsar's talents, 150; his "Morals," 180.
Cincinnati, Society of, 86; popular hostility to, 86; Mirabeau's pamphlet on, 87.
Civilians, study of their works among colonists, 171.
Clay (Henry), reviver of Hamilton's principles for industrial protection, 21, *note.*
Clergy of the Church of England, why they felt special interest in the colonial revolt, 251–253.
Clinton (George, Governor of New York), leads opposition to Nationalists, 18, 108, 114, 273; growing influence of, 290.
Clive (Robert, Lord), 158.
Cochrane (Mrs. Catherine V. R.), Hamilton's sister-in-law, describes him to the author, 45, *note;* first meeting of Hamilton and Burr, 401, and *note.*
"Cockpit," scene at, between Franklin and Wedderburn, 207, *note* 2.
Coffee-House, meetings at, 310, 316, *note.*
Coke (Sir Edward), on omnipotence of Parliament, 88.

Colonies (North American), political history of, 79–100.
Colonists (American), their moral, intellectual, religious character, 48–60, 79–100; not mere theorists, 58; leaders of, compared to the Girondists, 60: attracted attention of Europe, 60.; loyal feelings of towards England, 96, 130; Celts of Georgia and Carolinas, 345, 346, and *note*, 366, *note*.
Coleman (William), edits under Hamilton's direction, 259, and *note*; anecdote of Hamilton's mode of assisting him to edit, 259, *note*.
Columbia College, 386, *note*.
Columbus, comparison as to faith in a principle, 19, 20.
Comines (Philip de), cited on the English constitution, 22.
Committee of Fifty-one, 215, 222–226; the doctrines of, find favor in Congress of 1774, 247, 289; of One Hundred, 310.
Committee of Safety, 355; controlling influence of, 356, 368; writes to Gen. Lee, 362, 363; his conciliating answer, 363, 364; Lee acts with, 366; they take King's College for military uses, 385, 386, *note*; coöperates with Washington, 386.
Commonwealths, not competent for permanent government, 11; nature of, 12.
Conciliation, efforts for, by colonies, 294–207; ministry's plan to conquer a, 269; Grattan's expression of the American principle of resistance, 286; conciliatory spirit of the colonies, 373, and *note* 1.
Concordate, 437–441.
Condorcet, describes Voltaire's benediction upon Franklin's grandson, 29, *note*.
Confederation of American States, 67; its incompetency, 68, 93, 94; described, 68, 87, 93, 94; it dies out, 72; formed in 1777, 98, 99.
Congress of 1722, 95; of 1754, 96; of 1765, 97; first, 97; its high character, 97, 98; second Congress, 97, 98; that of 1780, 108; of 1783, 111; instance of representative government feasible, 195, *note*; decisive effects of Congress of 1774 on the American cause, 200; first brings Hamilton into public life, 200; conciliatory purpose of its origin, 209–211; assembles at Philadelphia, 234; its proceedings, 234–243; Chatham's eulogy upon, 264; acknowledged by, and first important act of, relates to New York, 317, 319; Congresses of 1774 and 1775 try to conciliate Quebec, 236, 323, 324; acts of 1774, 273, 289, 312;

Congress of 1775, 274, 286, 313, 317; recommends troops to be raised, 351; renewed apathy of Congress as to the provinces and Washington, 367, 368; advises the Colonies to adopt adequate governments, 374; its necessary result, independence, 374.

Constitutional conventions, at Philadelphia, 1787, 17, 24, 25, 73; at Poughkeepsie, 18, 81; at Versailles, 25.

"Constitutional war," the real character of the American revolt, 277, *note.*

Continental army, dissolved, 71.

"Continentalist," papers written by Hamilton, 109.

Conway (General), 265; his speech on Boston Port Bill, 268.

Cooper (Dr. Myles), President of King's College, 175; 220; doubted Hamilton's authorship of first anonymous pamphlet, 257, 258; discussion with Hamilton, 258, 259, *note* 2; remonstrates against conduct of students, 353; aided by Hamilton he escapes a mob, 354, and *note;* popular animosity to, 385.

Convention of States, 17, 18; of 1787, 24, 94; of 1780, 108; Hamilton drafts, in 1783, a resolution for, 109.

Cornwallis (Lord), at Trenton, 420, 421, 422.

Cromwellian era not advisable for America, 11.

Cruger (Nicholas), Hamilton enters counting-house of, 150; great confidence in Hamilton's ability, 151; settles in New York, 176; Samuel Bard marries his daughter, 179, *note* 1.

"Curtis'" (George Ticknor), "History of Constitution," 34; quoted, 35, *note.*

DEBT, the public, an obstruction to union, 91, 92; La Fayette's letter, 115; Adams', 116; Washington's, 116–118.

De Lancey (Edward F.), quoted, 414.

Democracy, invincibility of, under republican institutions, 15.

De Montfort, 11, 278.

Derby (Earl of), admits that colonial resistance was right, 141, *note.*

De Retz (Cardinal), quoted, 405, 407, *note* 1.

De Witt (John), 42; method of working, 150.

Dickinson (John), letters of Pennsylvania Farmer, 203, *note* 1; author of address to the Province of Quebec, 237; hopeful letter of, to Quincy, 238, *note;* in favor of Penn's mission,

280, 283; eager for conciliatory projects, 318, 319, *note;* affronts John Adams, 318, 319, *note.*

Dryden, quoted, 175, *note* 2, 406.

Duane (James), Hamilton's letter to, 93, 104, 106, 108.

Dulany (Daniel, of Maryland, advocate), an "oracle" of the law, 171, *note* 2.

Dunmore (Governor of Virginia), declares martial law, 346.

Dupanloup (Bishop of Orleans), when Abbé, attends Talleyrand on his death-bed, 34, *note;* anecdote as to use of word "diviné," 34, *note.*

EDICT OF NANTES, effect of, upon emigration to America, 81.

"Edinburgh Review," quoted as to merit of the "Federalist," 37.

Edwards (Jonathan), 401.

Ellsworth (Oliver, Chief Justice), with Hamilton on committee to prepare address of Congress of 1783, 112.

English Constitution, the most natural "model" for America, 11; Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jay, of that opinion, 11; Talleyrand, 22; De Comines, 22; De Lolme, 22.

English Ministry, misconceived and imperious spirit of, 208, 275, 276.

Ennius, lines of, quoted, 422, and *note.*

"Entangling Alliances," see *Vergennes* and *France.*

Episcopal Order, established in America, 185; dread of, by colonists, 294; causes of its opposition to the Revolution, 294, 295, and *note.*

Epoch, American, see *Introduction;* a new order of men appeared, 54; not an age of progress, but restoration, 54, 55; the leaders not mere theorists, 58; notion of "Social Contract" repudiated by, 59; its great results, 185.

Erskine (Thomas, Lord), Hamilton's manner as forensic orator compared with, 41; argument in Dean of St. Asaph's case, reproduction of Andrew Hamilton's argument, 62, 218.

"FEDERALIST," translation of, published 1792, in Paris, 33; style of, 36; "Edinburgh Review" and "Blackwood's Magazine" laud the work, 37; Talleyrand's opinion of, 37; three editions published in France, 37; *John C. Hamilton's edition* com-

mended, 37, *note;* judgments of the Supreme Court, commentaries upon, 39; describes the Confederacy of the States, 68; quoted, 250, 251.

Fish (Hamilton, Senator, and Secretary of State), 177, 358, *note* 2.

Fish (Nicholas, Colonel), member of debating-club with Hamilton, 176, 358, and *note* 2; executor of his will, 177; 382; biographical sketch of, 383, *note;* brigade-major, 388.

Fitzmaurice's "Life of Shelburne," quoted, 233, *note;* 277, *note.*

Fitzwalter and De Montfort, 11.

Flahaut (Count de), 315, *note;* and see *Souza.*

Fleming (Major), 382; instructs Hamilton, 383, 384.

Force's "American Archives," quoted, 216, *note;* 226, *note.*

Fort Washington, 374; capture of, 413; a severe blow to American cause, 414.

Fox (Charles James), 30; opinion of, 61, *note;* friendly to recognition of American Independence, 64–65; 209; 265.

France, project of, for subjection of the United States to its own national aggrandizement, 131–135; *map* which accompanied the proposition to England, 134; French Canadians, rivals of New England, 189, 322.

France, selfish purpose of, in aiding American Revolution, 63, 64.

Francis (Sir Philip), suggestion as to his authorship of "Junius' Letters," 101, *note.*

Franklin (Benjamin), gives Jefferson an account of Lord North's conduct, 10, *note* 2; masses of mankind incline to monarchy, 9, *note;* scene at The Academy with Voltaire, 29, *note;* and with Condorcet, 29, *note;* portrait of, at Ferney, 29, *note;* Mirabeau's pamphlet on the "Cincinnati," 87; at Convention of Colonies, 1754, at Albany, 96; letter to John Jay on English representations after the peace, 121, *note;* knew Dr. John Bard, 179, *note;* project for British Empire in America, 192–195, and *note;* appointed Colonial Agent, 205, 210; advises a General Congress, 210, 211; Pownall and Franklin coincide on opinion of a British Empire in America, 262, 263; friendly with Chatham, 264, *note;* at the Congress of 1754, 267, and *note;* asks to be examined by Parliament, 272; at the Congress of 1775, 274, 275; letters to Priestley and Hartley, 284, 285.

"Freeman's Growth of the English Constitution," quoted, 57, *note.*

GAGE (General), supersedes Governor Hutchinson, 202; no improvement upon, 202, 203, and *note;* Sparks examines, in London, his dispatches, 203, *note;* receives instructions to take aggressive measures, 277; defeated at Lexington and Concord, 278.

Gates (General Horatio), at army meeting, 70.

Gay (Sydney Howard), his "History of United States" commended, 78, 80, *note.*

George II., declines to tax America, 196; or introduce the Episcopal order, 308.

George III., his remarks, in 1788, to John Adams, about the treaty, 121; ill-timed slight to Jefferson and Adams, 127; satirized as responsible for American Independence, 130; his sturdy conduct beneficial to America, 135; earliest note on America, to Lord North, 204; character of, 196; his reign arbitrary, 196.

Gerry (Elbridge), cited, 228, *note* 2.

Gloucester (Dr. Tucker, Dean of), opinion of Franklin's plan for a British Empire, 194, *note.*

Goethe, quoted, as to destruction of tea at Boston, 208.

"Goodrich's Recollections," quoted, as to Bishop Seabury, 308, *note.*

Government, science of, exemplified, 50.

Governments, duality of, over same people and territory, 77; unknown before to political science, 77; theoretic idea of creating new representative government, 310–313; Hamilton's earliest idea of, 335, 336.

Grattan (Henry), his sententious expression of the American idea of legitimate resistance, 286.

Greeley (Horace), reviver of Hamilton's protective policy, 21, *note.*

Greene (General Nathanael), in command of forces on Long Island, 377; ill at New York during the battle, 377; first meeting with Hamilton, 394, 395; at Fort Lee, 414, 415; visits Colonel Rahl, 419; meets Hamilton again, 425; their close friendship, 425, 426, 427; Hamilton's Eulogium, 426, *note.*

Gridley (Jeremy), founds "The Sodality," 170.

Grotius (Hugo de), 51; "Mare Liberum," cited, 140, *note.*

Guizot, his high estimation of Hamilton as statesman; see *Introduction,* vii., 36, 37.

Gustavus Adolphus, recommends Swedish settlements in America, 83, and *note;* Oxenstiern fulfills that wish, 83, and *note.*

HALE (SIR MATTHEW), his apophthegm on Parliament, 88.

Hallam (Henry), on true political progress, a manifestation of ancient principles of liberty, 186, *note* 2.

Hamilton (Alexander), death of, not untimely, 7; founded a republic for the people, not a "democratie," 8; the idea entertained by few, 8; did not favor a monarchy for America, 9, 10, *note* 1; unreserved in expressing opinions, 9, 10, 12, 13; believed a commonwealth or Cromwellian era not desirable, 11; his faith in the English constitution as the "model," 12; idea of pure republicanism, 13; democracy tends to monarchy, 13; American empire rests on consent of the people, 13; his familiar knowledge of governmental organism, 16; leads the Nationalists, 18; marries Elizabeth Schuyler, 19; Hamilton's high reputation when 31 years old, 19; epithet "precocious" not applicable to him, 19; intuitional genius of, 20; makes Talleyrand's acquaintance in 1794, 20; their friendship, 20; comparison of, with each other, 20; letter on finance to Robert Morris, 21; his public school system adopted in France, 22; his ideas of governments reject all but a pure republic, 23; acting on implied powers, 26; selected for Secretary of the Treasury, 26, 27; his rare success, 27; Talleyrand miniature, 32; bust by Cerrachi, 32; incident of Burr's visit to Talleyrand, related by Martin Van Buren, 32 and 33; translation of "Federalist," published, 1792, in France, 32, 33; Talleyrand compares Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton, 33, 34, 35, and *note*; Ticknor's anecdote of, 33, 34; also, Van Buren's, 35; style and character of "The Federalist" lauded by "Edinburgh Review" and "Blackwood's Magazine," 37; National Bank an implied power, 38; character as a jurist, 39; Chancellor Kent's opinion of, 40; Chief Justiceship offered to Hamilton, and declined, 41; his manner of public speaking, 41; compared with Pitt as orator and statesman, 41–43; Jefferson's good opinion of Hamilton's personal and political honor, 43, 44; Van Buren's opinion, also, 44; Talleyrand notices Hamilton at night work, and satirizes the public's neglect, 44; Hamilton's personal appearance and manner, 45; his letter to Stevens, 47, 48; requested to go on special mission to France, and declines

66; writes the declaratory preface to the Constitution, 73; Hamilton favors continuing the same person in the Presidency, 85; letter to Duane, 93, 104, 106, 108; not in favor of single legislative body, 94; duality of governments a new system, 77; Hamilton its author, 100–103; its probable origin, 100–103; his intuitive genius, 103; advises that the Confederation has full sovereignty not controllable by the States, 107, and *note;* writes the "Continentalist" papers, 109; drafts resolution for a Convention of the States, 109; attends Congress of 1783, 112; author of the address, 112; its substance, 112; his parentage and birth, 145–148; letter to his brother Thomas, 146; supported by his mother's relations, 149; early education, 149; enters counting-house of Nicholas Cruger, 150; marked industry and ability, 150, 151, 153; confidence of Mr. Cruger, 151; business letters, 152, 153; Rev. Hugh Knox supervises Hamilton's studies, 154; self-education of, 154–157, 179, 180; remarkable letter to Edward Stevens, 159, 160; his ambitious spirit, 161, 162; leaves St. Croix, and arrives in New York, 163; befriended by William Livingston, 165; preparatory studies at Elizabethtown, 165; his diligence, 166–172; Hercules Mulligan, 173, 174; Hamilton's request to enter Princeton College denied, 174; enters King's College by special conditions, 175; constant to his friendships, 176, 177, 178; Troup's reminiscences of, 176–178; Nicholas Fish, executor of his will, 177; Edward Stevens attends him in sickness, 177; Hamilton favors an Erie canal, 178, *note;* attends Dr. Clossey's anatomical lectures, 178; books read by Hamilton beyond the prescribed studies, 179, 180; his retired habit of study, 181; earlier sympathies were with the crown-party, 220, 340, 341; his first speech and its occasion, 221, 222, and *note;* his supposed visit to Boston, 226–229; his justice to all political opponents, 250, 251; controversy with "The Westchester Farmer," 253–260, 330–341; the great effect on public opinion, 254–258; discussion with Dr. Cooper, 258, *note* 2; writes for the newspapers, 258, 259; William Coleman, 258, 259, and *note;* anecdote of Hamilton's way of inspiring editorials, 258, 259, and *note;* pen busy during 1775, 329; Jay's interest in, 329; states the true principle of the colonial controversy, 266, 267, 331; refutes the doctrine of parliamentary omnipotence and omnipresence, 335–340; describes his individual feelings

concerning colonial resistance, 340, 341; idea of states in empire, 336–340; in the affair of the *Asia*, 353; aids President Cooper to evade a mob, 354, and *note*; in the debating club of King's College, 358, and *note* 2; speech to the merchants, 359–361; unlikely story about his intention to return to St. Croix, 386; Lord Stirling wishes to have him as brigade-major, 387; appointed to command the artillery company, 388; recruits his men with his last remittance, 388; services in New York, 388, 389–395; letters to Provincial Congress, 390, 391, 392; important action of Congress on the letters, 393; Hamilton and Gen. Greene, 394, 395; meets with Aaron Burr, 400, 401; comparison, 403–407; affair with Maria Reynolds, 406; his pamphlet concerning that affair, 405, *note*; again attracts Washington's attention, 415, 416; personal description of Hamilton at this time, 416, 417; appointed aid-de-camp to Washington, 424–429; eulogium on Gen. Greene, 426, *note*; letter to Washington before battle on Long Island, 427; letter to the Convention of New York, 428; raised to rank of Lieutenant-colonel, 428; letter from Convention to, 428, 429; his artillery company merged, 428, 429.

Hamilton (Andrew), effect of his argument in Zenger's case, 62; Lord Erskine reproduces in St. Asaph case the substance of that argument, 62.

Hamilton's (John C.) edition of the "Federalist" commended, 37, *note*.

Hancock (John), letter of, to New York Provincial Congress, announcing Declaration of Independence, 374, 375.

Harlaem, battle of, 399, 400; good effect of, 399, 400; best description of, by H. B. Dawson, 400, *note* 1; 424.

Harrington's "Oceana," 50; his predictions of British ascendancy in Europe, 191, *note*.

Hastings (Warren), clerk in East India Company's service, 158.

"Hearts of Oak," Garrick's song of, 381, 384, *note* 1; volunteer corps joined by Hamilton take that name, 384; wears the old colonial uniform, 384, and *note* 2.

Hessians, at Chatterton's Hill, 411; at Fort Washington, 414; high character of their officers, 414, *note*; 419, 420, 423.

Hillard (George H.), his "Life of George Ticknor," quoted, 163, *note*; his "Life of Jeremiah Mason," quoted as to Hamilton and Coleman, 259, *note*.

Hobbes (of Malmsbury), 50; his "Dialogues" studied by Hamilton, 180.
Holland (Lord), favorable opinion of Talleyrand's honor, 31, *note.*
Hollanders settle New York, 80; their temper and power, 80, 81–83.
Horner (Francis, statesman), cited, 180 and *note.*
Howe (Lord), 10, *note* 2; his mission for a ministerial peace fails, 397.
Howe (Sir William), 304, 319, 369, 370; arrives with his army and the fleet off Sandy Hook, 371; encamps on Staten Island, 371, 372; his plan to reach New York over Long Island, 375–397; declines to attack Washington at White Plains, 412, 413; retires to near the Hudson, 412, 413; Fort Washington captured, 414; follows American army to the Delaware, 415, 416, 420.
Huguenots, 80, 81–83, 322.
Hutchinson (Governor of Massachusetts), biographical notice of, 197, *note;* in England an emissary of discord, 202, 276.

"IDEES NAPOLEONIENNES," quoted, 10, *note.*
Implied powers, 24, and *note;* 25, 26; the key-note to American politics, 26; Hamilton's advice as to National Bank, 38; the Confederation a National Government with complete sovereignty, 107, and *note.*
Independence, Declaration of, 63; fundamental constitution of every State, 107; Continental Congress advising colonies to adopt adequate governments, necessarily a declaration of, 374; Washington publishes it to the army, 376.
Inglis (Rev. Dr.), 295, 297.
Indians, hostility of to colonists encouraged, 347.

JAMES II., abdication by, 58; old colonial charters superseded by, 95.
Jay (John), his favorable opinion of the English constitution, 12; suspects the good faith of Vergennes, 64; Franklin's letter to, 121, *note;* letter to Washington on supposed violation of public faith, 125; remarkable interview with Duke d'Aranda, 131, 132; he, with Adams, foils Vergennes' scheme, 132–135; marries daughter of Governor Livingston, 166; member of "The Moot," 172, *note;* character of, 214; Hamilton's anony-

mous first pamphlets ascribed to, 257, 258; aids the Penn mission, 281, 284; home of, 292; appointed to the Congress of 1774, 310, *note.*

Jebb (Dr.), quoted, as to American Revolt, 61, *note.*

Jefferson (Thomas), nominated by caucus, 7, *note;* his relation of Franklin's account of Lord North's indifference and threat of confiscation, 10, *note* 2; his works cited, 10, *note* 2; at Versailles, 25; good opinion of Hamilton's political and personal honor, 43, 44; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 122; his famous state paper, and interview with British Minister Hammond, 123, and *note;* affronted by George III., 127; ill-mannered piece of acting toward Mr. Merry, the British Minister, 128, and *note;* opinion of the Penn mission, 283, 284.

"Junius' Letters," suggestions as to their author, 101, *note.*

Jurist, Hamilton's abilities as, 39; Chancellor Kent's opinion of, 40, 41; anecdote of, 40, 41, *note.*

Justinian's "Institutes," 51.

KENT (JAMES, CHANCELLOR), high opinion of Hamilton as a jurist, 40, 41; early refusal of States to empower Confederation results in permanent good, 94; address before The Law Association, 433–435.

King, the political meaning of the term, 57, and *note.*

King's College, 175, 179, 219; students in affair of the *Asia,* 352, 353; debating-club of, and its members, 358, and *note* 2; students join a volunteer military corps, 383, 384; popular dislike to, 385; holds its last Commencement in 1774, 385; by order of Committee of Safety, College buildings taken for military uses, 385; students dispersed, 385.

Knox (General Henry), at meeting of army officers, 70.

Knox (Dr. Hugh), supervises Hamilton's classical studies, 154; character and talents of, 154–157; introduces Hamilton to William Livingston, and others, 164–167.

LAFAYETTE (MARQUIS DE), too republican for the French, 9; preference for a constitutional monarchy for France, 24; his letter to Washington on decline of respect for America in Europe, 115; the one truest friend of America in France, 135

Lamartine, quoted, concerning Mirabeau, 19.

Lamb (John Colonel), "Life of," quoted, 216, *note*, 219, *note;* affair of *Asia*, 352; commands artillery company in the Canadian campaign, 388.

Landor (Walter Savage), his "Imaginary Conversations," 32.

Langton (Archbishop of Canterbury), entitled, with the Earl of Pembroke, to the glory of maintaining national independence of England, 187, *note;* 278.

Lasher (Colonel), affair of the *Asia*, 352.

Law-clubs, colonial, great influence of, 170–172.

Law of Progress, described by Hallam and Liddon, 186–188, *note* 2.

Lawrence (Edward), relates fact of Hamilton's speech to the mer chants, 361, *note.*

Lawrence (Hon. William Beach), cited, 315, *note.*

Lee (General Charles), in command of New York, 362–368; relieved by Lord Stirling, 368.

Letters of marque and reprisal issued, 372.

Lexington and Concord, 278, 290; news of, reaches New York, 309; effect of, on Celtic inhabitants of Georgia and the Carolinas, 346.

Liddon (Dr. Henry Parry, Canon), quoted, 60; the vitality of a virtue, 105; on the law of true progress, 188, *note;* on negative teachers, 199, *note.*

Livingston (William), his family descent, 164, 165; Hamilton while at Elizabethtown in his family, 165; character and conduct of, 167–169; his influence upon Hamilton's mind, 169; President of "The Moot," 171, 172, *note;* authorship of Hamilton's first pamphlets ascribed to, 257; his party, 293.

Locke (John), 51.

Lolme, de, cited, on the English constitution, 22.

Long Island, royal sentiment in, 291, 292; measures against the royalists, 297, *note;* retreat of American army from, 303; battle of, 395–397; depressing effects of, 395–397; descriptions of, 396, *note* 2; 412.

Lyndhurst (Lord), his speech on Right of Search, 140, *note.*

MACAULAY (LORD), description of the effects of the revolution of 1688, 11; "History of England," quoted, 11; opinion as to

William Pitt, quoted, 42, and *note;* as to "Junius' Letters" cited, 103, *note.*
Macdonald (Flora), and her husband, in America, 345, 346, *note.*
Machiavelli, 322.
Mackintosh (Sir James), quoted, 180, *note.*
Macpherson (Aid-de-camp to Montgomery), 348; death of, 349.
Madison (James), nominated by caucas, 7, *note;* consults Washington as to monarchy for America, 12; at Congress of 1783, 112; present when Jefferson acted unseemly to Mr. Merry, the British Minister, 128, *note.*
Mansfield (Lord), presents John Adams as first Minister to England, 129; anecdote relating to, 129, *note;* his speech on traditional tendendy of America to independence, 269, 270.
Manufactures, Report upon, pronounced by Van Buren "Hamilton's masterpiece," 39.
Map, which accompanied the proposition of France, subjugating the United States to its national aggrandizement, 134.
Marshall (John, Chief Justice), judicial expositor of the Constitution, 38, 39; influence of the state of colonial learning upon, 171, *note* 1.
Mason (Dr. John M.), quoted, 47, *note.*
Medici (Lorenzo de), deviser of policy creating balance of power, 16, and *note.*
Merry (The British Minister), Jefferson's affront to, 128, *note.*
M'Dougall (General Alexander), nominee for Congress of 1774, 216; character and anecdotes of M'Dougall, 217–219; a "Son of Liberty," 219, *note;* cautions John Adams, 230; presides at "the meeting in the fields," 218, 258, 315, *note;* appointed colonel, 382, *note,* 388; examines Hamilton for captaincy, 387; at conflict on Chatterton's Hill, 412.
Milton, quoted as to orders and degrees, 84; his "Areopagitica," quoted, 193, and *note* 2; 256, *note;* 307.
Mirabeau (Count de), discriminates as to a republic, 9, 13; his incautious, perhaps fatal, speech, 9, 13; suspicious circumstances of his death, 14, and *note;* Talleyrand's relation of, 14, and *note;* the French not "ripe" for a Republic, 13; "the infallibility of good sense," 19; advises Calonne to consult Talleyrand, 26; 30; his pamphlet on the "Cincinnati," 87.

Moncrieffe (Margaret, afterwards Mrs. Coghlan), see *Burr*, and 404, *note* 2.

Montesquieu and Hamilton compared, 37; 51; quoted, 54, 55.

Montgomery (General Richard), receives Washington at New York, 320; sketch of, 314; appointed brigadier, 347; parting with his wife, 350, *note;* heroic death of, 349; effect of on the country, 350, 382; on students of King's College, 381; device of "Victory or Death," worn by the "Hearts of Oak," 384, and *note* 2.

Moore (Thomas), censorious lines on Jefferson, 128.

"Moot" (The), a law-club in New York, 171; extraordinary influence of, 171, 172; list of its members, 172, *note.*

Morgann (Maurice), prepares statement about American conflict for Lord Shelburne, 271, 272.

Morris (Gouverneur), author of the answer to Stephen's "War in Disguise," 141, *note;* interested in an Erie Canal, 178, *note;* Richard Penn, 280, 316; curious testamentary clause for his education, 318, *note;* education, social and political, adverse to New England sentiments, 318, *note;* speech on paper currency, 321, and *note;* receiving Washington at New York, 320; home of, 292; sketch of, 212–214, 314, 315; Duke de Morny, 314, *note;* letter to Penn, 316, *note;* proposed as colonel, 382.

Morris (Lewis, father of Gouverneur), clause in his will concerning his son's education, 318, *note;* 315, *note.*

Morris (Robert), advises Washington to select Hamilton for Secretaryship of Treasury, 26; Hamilton's letter to, on finance, 21, 104, 321.

Morristown, American Army at, 423.

Mulligan (Hercules), earliest friend of Hamilton in New York, 173; active in the Revolution, 173; furnishes Washington information during the war, 174; Washington breakfasts with him, 174; his reminiscences of Hamilton, 177, 219, 257; member of committee, 310, *note.*

Murray (Lindley), 310, *note.*

NAPOLEON; Talleyrand advises him to form league against England, 27, *note;* complimented by Paoli, 59, *note.*

Napoleon III., favors democracy and defines a republic, 9, *note;* "Ideés Napoleoniennes," 16, *note;* De Morny, 314, *note.*

National Bank, Talleyrand and Hamilton, 21; advised by Hamilton under implied constitutional power, 38.

Nationalists, led by Hamilton, 18.

Navy, American, begun, 373, and *note* 2; names of the original vessels, 373.

Necker, Talleyrand's speech on his famous report, 21.

New York City, Manuals of, cited, 303, *note.*

New York, its geographical position full of danger, 18; Congress of 1765 meets there, 97; alone declines, 1786, to grant Congress power to lay impost, 114; the first to propose a general Congress, 211, and *note* 2; it produces a plan for conciliation, 280; Colonial Assembly of, dissolved, 280; neutrality of the Colony, 291; causes of, 29, 292; Convention of 1775, 309; Provincial Congress of 1775 assembles, 314; unusual peril to New York from Canada, 347; receives and approves the Declaration of Independence, 374–376; changes its political title, 375, 376.

New England communities, self-imposed restraints of, 14, 15.

North (Lord), threat of, 10, *note* 2; assures Parliament that the Colonies are yielding, 204; proposes plan for conciliation, 266, and *note;* the history of, 267; answers Burke, 274; Franklin is informed of North's purposes being "cool and calculated," 275.

OBEDIENCE, passive, repudiated by the colonists, 58.

O'Connell (Daniel), quoted on political intolerance in religion, 252, and *note.*

Otis (James), quoted as to law studies, 52, *note;* as to the idea of the "Social Contract," 59; writs of assistance, 61, 62; first appearance in public life, 188; its important political effects, 188; speaks the sentiments of royal colonists, 190, 191, and *note;* letter to Arthur Jones, 205; John Adams' opinion of Otis's preëminent ability, 227, and *note* 3; credit due him for principle of union of colonies, 228, and *note* 1; life of, quoted, 296, *note.*

Oxenstiern (Chancellor), 42; accomplishes Gustavus Adolphus' design for Swedish colony, 83.

PAOLI AND NAPOLEON, 59, *note.*
"Parliamentary History of England," cited, 268, *note* 1
Parliament, omnipotence of, dreaded, 78, 84–91, 97; Hamilton condemns it, 334–340; asseverated by Parliament, 274.
Peace of 1763 between France and England, effects of, 189.
Peace of 1783 with Great Britain, 63–67, 151; its important recognition of the assumed unity of the United States, 66, 97, 111; difficulties in the way of completing its terms, 120; its agreements first violated by England, 123, and *note*, 124, 125; Jay to Washington on, 125.
Pembroke (William, Earl of), 187, *note.*
Penn (Richard), sent with petition to England, 280, 281, 320; his character and influence, 279, 280; departs on mission to England, 284, 320; Morris' letter to, 316, *note;* failure of his mission, 357; Mrs. John Adams' letter upon, 357, *note* 2.
"People *v.* Croswell," Hamilton's famous definition of libel in, 41.
People, masses of, incline to monarchy, 9, *note;* opinion of Napoleon III. and Franklin, 9, *note;* and of Mirabeau, 13.
Périgord (Abbe de), knowledge of finance, 21, and see *Talleyrand;* consulted by Calonne, 26; leaves for America, 28; dramatic interview with Voltaire, 28, 29, 30.
Petitions, sent to Parliament from English and Irish towns, 266; from Congress and Colonies rejected, 272, 273, 357.
Phocion, 60.
Pitt (William), early acquaintance with Talleyrand, 27, and *note;* alien law enforced against Talleyrand by him, 27, and *note;* compared as orator and statesman with Hamilton, 41, 42, and *note*, 43; his desire to admit American rights and immunities, 130, 136; his method rejected, 137, 138.
Plato's "Republic," quoted, 305, *note* 2.
"Plutarch's Men," 59, *note* 1.
Political parties in New York, 1787, 18, 126, 247, 251.
Portugal, an example of removal of the seat of government, 195, *note.*
Pownall (Gov. Thomas), biographical notice of, 261, *note;* speech on America, 262, 263; Franklin and he alike in opinion, 262, 263; speech on Lord North's plan for conciliation, 267, 268.
Prejudices, historical, against union of States, 78; enumeration and description of, 78–93.

Presidential candidates, five in the field in 1821, 2, *note.*
Princeton and Trenton, 377, 419, 420.
Provincial Congress of New York appoints Schuyler and Montgomery, Generals, 347, 350; requests protection of Connecticut troops, 351; orders removal of cannon from the battery, 351; resumes propitiatory policy, 354, 355, 356; the Second Congress assembles, 361; the last of the Provincial legislatures, 361; orders troops into New York city, 368; invests Washington with full powers, 372; retires to White Plains, 376; rejects project of citizens to raise an independent corps, 382; requires Hamilton's services, 388; important action on communication from Hamilton, 393.
Provincial Convention of New York, 289.
Puffendorf, 51.
Pusey (Dr.), quoted, on refined and subtle sins, 407, *note.*
Putnam (General Israel), at meeting of army officers, 70; on Long Island, 395; retreats to Harlaem, 398.

QUEBEC ACT, 321–329; its subtle and mischievous policy, 321–329; origin of Catholic Emancipation, 324, and *note;* Hamilton's opinion on, 325, and *note* 1.
Quincy (Josiah, Jr.), John Dickinson's hopeful letter to, 238, *note;* "Life of," quoted, as to Chatham's speech, 265, *note;* as to Governor Hutchinson, 276.

RALEIGH (SIR WALTER), his attempt to settle Virginia, 80.
Randolph (John), his warm acknowledgment of a British influence, 130, *note.*
Revenue, England's need of, after the peace of 1763, the true cause of aggression, 196; the real object of Lord North's proposed conciliation, 266, and *note* 2.
Revolution, American, object of, 10, 11; effect of on imagination of Europe, 67; English, of 1688, 11, 23, 58, 86, 87, 186; its influence in producing colonial resistance, 48–54, 186; French, of 1793, 23.
Reynolds (Maria), see *Hamilton.*
Right of trial by jury revived by the revolt of colonists, 61, 62, 185.
Rivington (James), his printing-house, 256; his "Gazette," 296; his

printing-press destroyed by Sears, 300; his character, 301, *note;* secret agent for Washington, 301.

Runnymede, principles of its great charter of liberties asserted by American Revolt, 186.

SEABURY (SAMUEL, Bishop), cited, 273, *note* 2; character and services of, 212–214, 292–309; biographical sketch of, 292–309, *note* 2; author of letters by "A Westchester Farmer," 293; memorial to the Lords Commissioners, 294, *note* 1; unites with Chandler and Inglis, 295; assembles royalists at White Plains, 296; his great influence upon the Colonial Assembly, 298, 299; attempt to seize him, 300; taken prisoner, 302; proceedings of New York Congress upon, 303, *note;* his release, 303, *note;* goes to London, 304; consecrated Bishop, 306; death and burial of, 309; *Concordate* with Scotch Bishops, 435–439.

Seabury (Samuel, D. D., grandson of the Bishop), quoted, as to origin of true government, 103, *note.*

Sears (Isaac), character of, 212; nominee, 216, 219, *note;* Jay's influence over, 164, 258; member of Provincial Congress, 300; destroys Rivington's printing-house, 300, 301, 302, 303, *note,* 315, *note* 1; in the affair of the *Asia,* 352.

Sedgwick (Theodore), his "Life of William Livingston," cited, 165, 168.

Selden's "Mare Clausum," cited, 141, *note.*

Schieffelin (Richard Lawrence), cited, 361.

Schuyler (General Philip), Hamilton married to his daughter, 19; concerned in an Erie Canal, 178, *note;* member of Colonial Assembly, 273; influence of, 290; indignant at conduct of the Colonial Assembly, 299, 320; appointed major-general, 347; illness of, 348; Montgomery succeeds him, 348; originates company by which was first used the American colors, 384, *note* 3.

Sheffield (Lord), his pamphlet, good effects of, on American unity, 137, *note.*

Shelburne (Earl of), policy of, 64–67; effect of, 96, 97, 136; "Life of," quoted, 233, *note;* letter to Chatham, 261, *note,* 265, 269; created Marquis of Lansdowne, 270; letter of, presented by Talleyrand to Washington, 270, *note;* a summary of a plan prepared for him by Morgann, 271, 272.

Sherlock (Bishop), sermons of, 308; proposes Episcopate for America, 308.
Smedley (Miss Menella Bute), beautiful lines of, quoted, 142.
"Sodality" (The), at Boston, 170; John Adams a member of, 170.
Somers (Chancellor), 42; his famous tract on "Kingdoms and Nations," 50, and *note;* his authority in the formation of American opinions, 56.
"Sons of Liberty," 211; history of, 219, 289, 316, *note;* they pass away, 226.
South (Bishop), quoted, 19.
Souza (Madame de, Flauhaut), 314, *note.*
"Sparks' Writings," quoted, as to Gage's dispatches, 203, *note;* history of Lord North's proposed conciliation, 266, *note* 2; history of Congress of 1754, 267, *note,* 311; Penn's mission, 320, and *note* 2; as to the conciliatory spirit of the colonists, 373, *note* 1.
Stamp Act, its immediate effects, 61; character of resistance to, and of men who resisted, 48–54, 198, 199, 261.
"State-household" a better expression than political economy 101, and *note;* its significance, 101, and *note,* 103.
Sterling (William Alexander, Lord of), his regiment in New York, 368; wishes Hamilton for his brigade-major, 387; taken prisoner on Long Island, 395, 396.
Stephen (James), his "War in Disguise," cited, 141, *note.*
Stevens (Dr. Edward), Hamilton's letter to, 47, 48, 159, 160; at King's College with Hamilton, 176; as physician, attends Hamilton, 177, and *note* 2; appointed on commission to Toussaint l'Ouverture, 177, and *note* 2, 178, 227.
Supreme general government dreaded by the colonists, 78, 87–91, 93–100.
Sully, 42.
Swedes, settlement of, on the Delaware, 82, 83; Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern, 83.
"Sydney on Government," 50.

TALLEYRAND, Bishop of Rheims, 27.
Talleyrand-Périgord (Marquis de), his "Étude sur la République," quoted, 34. *note* 2; 38, *note.*
Talleyrand (Prince de), relation of suspicious circumstances of

Mirabeau's death, 14, and *note;* arrives in America in 1794, 20; makes Hamilton's acquaintance, 20; their friendship, 20; comparison as to individualities, 20, 21–36; his knowledge of finance acquired at Autun, 21; his reports thereon, 21; proposes systems of weights and measures, and of public education, 22; infuses his own plan with Hamilton's more perfect system, 22; his respect for the English Constitution, 22; true government is law, 23; preference for a limited monarchy, 24; prominent in framing a French constitution, 25; acting on implied powers, 26; consulted by Calonne, 26; appointed Minister to England, 27; interviews with Pitt, 27, and *note;* proscribed by France, 27; denied refuge in Europe, 27; plan for a league against England proposed by him to Napoleon, 27, *note;* arrives in America, 28; meets Hamilton, 28; interview with Voltaire, 28, 29, and *note;* his wit compared, 30; Duke of Wellington's favorable opinion of his honor, 31, and *note;* his "Secret Memoirs," 31; personal description of, 31, 32; the Talleyrand miniature of Hamilton, 32; compares Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton, 33, 34, and *note;* gives the first place to the last, 34, and *note*, 35; anecdote of the Abbé Dupanloup, 34, *note;* birth and death of, 36, *note;* advises Duke d' Aranda to study "The Federalist," 37; Hamilton, having made the nation's fortune, labors to support his family, 44, 55; Talleyrand and Washington, 270, *note* 2.

Tea, destruction of, and object, 209, and *note;* Richmond, Camden, Fox, justify this resistance, 209; Goethe's remark upon, 208.

"The Drum," 381; sung by Hamilton, 381, *note.*

Ticknor (George), relates anecdote of Talleyrand's high estimation of Hamilton, 33, 34.

Ticonderoga, the seizure of, the first overt act of war, 281; not authorized nor approved by Congress, 281, 347; Carleton determines to retake it, 347, 381.

Tocqueville (Alexis de), his "De la Democratie en Amerique," quoted as to learning in America, 48, and *note* 2.

Toussaint l' Ouverture, Hamilton causes Stevens to be sent as commissioner to, 177.

"Travis mob," 354.

Trenton and Princeton, 377, 419, 420, 424.

Trial by jury, restored, 185.

Troup (Robert, Colonel), reminiscences of Hamilton at College, 176; member of debating-club with Hamilton, 176, 358, and *note* 2; and retains his friendship, 178; connected with Holland Land Company, 178, *note;* Hamilton favors an Erie Canal, 178, *note;* reads Hamilton's first pamphlet in MSS. before its publication, 257, 258; confronts a mob at King's College, 354, and *note;* biographical sketch of, 382, 383, *note* 2.

Trumbull (Gov. Jonathan), receives from the New York Provincial Congress its letter concerning Seabury, 303, *note.*

Tryon (Governor of New York), his insincerity perceived by Washington, 320; surprised and humiliated by the change of public sentiment, 320, 350, 351; informs the Mayor of Lord Dartmouth's letter, 355, 356; takes refuge on the sloop-of-war *Halifax*, 358; his threat not performed, 368; created LL. D. by King's College, 385.

Turgot, agrees with Vergennes, 135; compliment to him by Voltaire, 265, *note;* believes America and England likely to be reconciled, 269.

UNIFORM, COLONIAL, described, 384, *note* 3; Continental, 384. *note* 3; American, 64, 65; Whig, 64, 65.

Union, early attempts for, by the Colonies, 94–100.

"United States, History of," by Sydney Howard Gay and William Cullen Bryant, 79, 80, *note*, cited.

United States of America, a republic, not a "democratie," 2.

Uri, Republic of, a decisive instance of executive continuity, 85.

VAN BUREN (MARTIN), relates incident of Burr's visit to Talleyrand, 33; Talleyrand regards Hamilton the ablest man in America or in Europe, 35; Hamilton's report upon manufactures declared his "masterpiece," 39; good opinion of Hamilton's personal and political honor, 44; "Political Parties" of quoted, as to Lord Derby's admission that the Colonial resistance was right, 141, *note.*

Vane (Sir Henry), his projects to induce the Massachusetts Colony to adopt the order of an aristocracy, 84.

Vattel's "Law of Nations," 51.

Vaudrey, (Colonel), his conversation with Napoleon III., 9, *note.*

Vergennes (Count de), ulterior object of, 63–66; adverse to na-

tional growth of the United States, 131; his proposition to England, and its accompanying map, 132–135; Jay and Adams defeat his schemes, 64, 132–135; the disclosures of the famous iron chest, 135; his emissary to Shelburne, 138, *note*; believes America and England likely to be reconciled, 269; mistake of Chatham, 56, *note*; 323, *note* 1.

Versailles, delegates at, assume implied powers, 24; consults interests, not opinions, of constituents, 25.

Vinnius, 51.

Virginia, settlement of, and temper of its colonists, 79, 80.

Voltaire, his dramatic interview with Abbé de Périgord, 28; scene at the Academy with Franklin, 29, *note*; portrait of Franklin at Ferney, 29, *note*; compliment to Turgot, 265, *note*.

WASHINGTON, favorable to English Constitution, 12; selects Hamilton for Secretary of Treasury, 26, 27; quoted as to the need for a united government, 67; affecting scene at the meeting of army officers, 70; resigns command at Annapolis, 70; saluted as the "Fabius of the Age," 70; the north star guides, though not the brightest, 74; letter from La Fayette on decline of respect for America in Europe, 115; letter on the States' neglect for the payment of the public debt, 116–118; breakfasts with Hercules Mulligan, 174; thanked by House of Burgesses, 190, and *note* 2; Talleyrand, 270, *note* 2; offers to march to the relief of Boston, 279; appointed Commander-in-chief, 282; Rivington acts as an informer for, 301, *note*; received by the New York Provincial Congress, 320; suspects Tryon, 329; forms the American Army, 345; orders Gen. Charles Lee to New York, 362; Lee's letters to, 364, 366; British army evacuates Boston, 369, 370; Washington enters the town, 370; goes to New York and assumes the direct command, 370, 386; visit to Congress at Philadelphia, 371; his defensive measures at New York, 372; Provincial Congress invests him with dictatorial power, 372; publishes Declaration of Independence to the army, 376; coöperates with Committee of Safety, 386; retires from New York to Harlaem, 396–399; first meeting with Hamilton, 400; retreats through the Jerseys to the Delaware, 414–417; notices Hamilton again, 415, 416;

crosses the Delaware, 419; at Trenton, 419; at Princeton, 421; lines of Ennius quoted, 422; second meeting with Hamilton, 424; Hamilton becomes his private secretary, 426.

"War in Disguise," policy of Shelburne Ministry, 136, 137, 138.

Webster (Daniel), esteem for Lord Somers as lawyer and statesman, 51, *note;* wears the Whig costume, 64, 65; on the dominion and "martial airs" of England, quoted, 158; influence of colonial learning upon, 171, *note* 1; on decisive political effects of Battle of Bunker Hill, 201, *note;* cited, 313, *note;* conservative character of the Declaration of Independence, 375, *note* 2.

Wedderburn, insults Franklin at "The Cockpit," 207, *note* 2; advises that the Massachusetts Provincial Congress is a treasonable body, 277.

Wellington (Arthur, Duke of), favorable opinion of Talleyrand, 31, and *note;* first speech of, in Irish Parliament, in favor of Catholic Emancipation, 324, *note.*

West (Benjamin, painter), anecdote of, and Lord Nelson, 162, *note.*

"Westchester Farmer's" pamphlets, usefulness and fame of Hamilton's answers to, 338–341; anger and tumult aroused by the pamphlets among the people, 253, 254, 266; Seabury the author of those letters, 293; address of, to the merchants, and Hamilton's speech in answer, 360, 361.

Whigs, English, grow cold towards America when Independence is claimed, 128, 129.

White Plains, Washington at, 410; fight at "Chatterton's Hill," 411, 412.

Wilkes (John), case of, assertion of Otis' argument, compared to Zenger's case, 61, 218.

Wilkins (Isaac), 296; authorship of Seabury's letters attributed to, 296; attempt to seize him, 300; escapes to England, 300.

Willetts (Marinus), a "Son of Liberty," 219, 258, *note;* member of debating-club at King's College, 358, 382, *note* 1; his "Narrative" quoted as to the Colonial uniform, 384, *note* 3; appointed captain, 388.

William the Silent, 60.

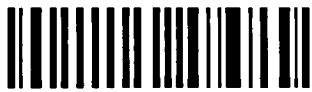
Witherspoon (Dr.), declines Hamilton's request to enter Princeton College on special terms, 174.

Wolfe (General), influence of his heroic death upon the youth of England, 162; anecdote of Lord Nelson and Benjamin West, 162, *note*; recites Gray's Elegy, 349.

Wooster (General), encamps at Harlaem, 351.

Writs of Assistance, influence of Otis' argument in Wilkes' case, 61; an illegal device, 188; withheld, 261.

ZENGER'S CASE, 62.


00023221

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018